HERODOTUS

BOOK II

INTRODUCTION

ÉTUDES PRÉLIMINAIRES AUX RELIGIONS ORIENTALES DANS L'EMPIRE ROMAIN

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TOME QUARANTE-TROISIÈME

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J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

MAGISTRO DISCIPULUS

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PREFACE

Undertaking a commentary on Herodotus Book II is an act of *hybris* but an act of *hybris* long overdue. The last substantial treatment was that of Wiedemann published in 1890 but, excellent though it was, so much water has flowed under the bridge since then both in Classics and Egyptology that in many respects it has long been outdated. This is all the more lamentable because for both disciplines Book II of Herodotus' *Histories* is a text whose importance it would be difficult to overestimate. Nowhere does Herodotus the man emerge so clearly. Nowhere do we get so revealing a picture of the intellectual world of the early and mid Fifth Century B.C. Furthermore, it is the most substantial early ethnographical λόγος which we possess and, therefore, provides invaluable insight into the nature of this extremely important and influential branch of Ionian science. It is also the most extensive and most important of all classical accounts of Egypt and has a crucial effect in orientating and conditioning all later responses to the land of Egypt, be they Greek or Roman.

On the Egyptological side the value of the work is at least as great, though sadly Egyptologists are all too ready at times to decry its importance. It provides the first extant eyewitness account of Egypt written by a European with very much the same interests as a modern western scholar. We are, therefore, presented with a response to and a description of what was actually there in the Fifth Century. Native Egyptian texts and representations, on the other hand, though frequently voluminous, are characterized by a degree of stereotyped obsolescence which often makes them very dangerous evidence indeed for the reconstruction of contemporary Egyptian life. Herodotus' information on matters ethnographic is, consequently, all the more precious. On a host of problems he provides invaluable information — food, clothing, ship-building, housing, burial customs etc. On the historical side he supplies the basis of all our accounts of the history of the period from the reign of Psammetichus I. What a sparse, threadbare narrative we should have were it not for his forty chapters on the subject! In some respects even more precious is the fact that he enables us to

discern the very image of the past which was current amongst the majority of Egyptians themselves. Such documents are not to be regarded as peripheral to the Egyptologist's studies. Herodotus — and the same holds true for Diodorus Siculus, Strabo and their fellows — constitutes an indispensable part of our source material both for the study of the physical context of Egyptian civilization and for divining and grasping its intellectual and spiritual content. The latter, it must be admitted, the Greeks often failed to understand, but their response itself is frequently immensely instructive.

The study of a work of such range presents many problems and demands not a few compromises. As far as methods and aims are concerned, my basic intention has been to produce the sort of commentary on Book II which I have always wanted myself i.e. a commentary which concentrates on isolating the problems and attempting to give some indication of where the solutions may lie. Consequently, I have frequently dispensed with exhaustive bibliographies and detailed discussions of the views of other scholars, which often do little but confuse the issues in question, and have confined myself to what I regarded as essential to the fulfilment of this purpose. As for references, those within the commentary will perhaps appear laconic compared with those in the Introduction but considerations of space demanded that they should be as brief as was consistent with clarity. Used with the Bibliography which will appear in the third volume they should present no difficulty.

In this attempt to satisfy a long felt need I have not been entirely without assistance. I should like to express my thanks to Mr. Russell Meiggs and Professor A. F. Shore who examined this work in an earlier form as a D. Phil. thesis of the University of Oxford and whose forthright criticism was of great value in removing the more crass errors and misconceptions. Above all, however, thanks are due to two scholars. It was with Professor J. Gwyn Griffiths of University College, Swansea, that I first read Book II as a student and it was at his suggestion that this study was undertaken. His advice and probably unequalled experience of the material have been a constant source of encouragement and stimulus. I also owe an incalculable debt to Mr. W. G. G. Forrest of Wadham College, Oxford who supervised my work as a research student over a period of some seven years. His influence on my thinking

about Herodotus and the myriad problems connected with his work has been all pervasive. It must be emphasized, however, that the infelicities of this discussion, which are doubtless many, are in no way to be attributed to those who have assisted in its creation. These are entirely my responsibility.

One might, perhaps, do worse than conclude with Swift's observations on the trade of the commentator. During Gulliver's brief stay on the Island of Glubbdubdrib he encountered a magician endowed with capacity to summon forth from the underworld the great men of the past. Amongst other chastening encounters he experienced the following —

> I proposed that Homer and Aristotle might appear at the head of all their commentators; but these were so numerous that some hundreds were forced to attend in the court and outward rooms of the palace ..... I soon discovered that both of them were perfect strangers to the rest of the company, and had never seen or heard of them before. And I had a whisper from a ghost who shall be nameless, that these commentators always kept in the most distant quarters from their principals in the lower world through a consciousness of shame and guilt, because they had so horribly misrepresented the meaning of those authors to posterity. I introduced Didymus and Eustathius to Homer, and prevailed on him to treat them better than perhaps they deserved, for he soon found that they wanted a genius to enter into the spirit of a poet. But Aristotle was out of all patience with the account I gave him of Scotus and Ramus, as I presented them to him, and he asked them whether the rest of the tribe were as great dunces as themselves.

University College of Swansea, October, 1974.

ABBREVIATIONS

Classical periodicals are cited according to the practice of *L'Année Philologique*. Abbreviations for Greek and Roman authors and their writings as well as for papyrological and epigraphic works follow Liddell and Scott or Lewis and Short. Abbreviated references to Egyptological journals are made in accordance with the practice of the *Annual Egyptological Bibliography*. Other abbreviations employed are as follows :

AuC	*Antike und Christentum.*
AE	*Ancient Egypt.*
AEMI	*Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (Lucas-Harris).
AEO	*Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (Gardiner).
AJSL	*American Journal of Semitic Languages.*
AMAW	*Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und Literatur in Mainz, Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftliche Klasse.*
ANET	*Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (Pritchard).
APAW	*Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.*
AR	*Die Reliefs und Malereien des alten Reiches* (Klebs).
ARW	*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.*
BAR	*Ancient Records of Egypt* (Breasted).
BD	*Book of the Dead.*
Bull Et Port	*Bulletin des Études Portugaises.*
BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library.*
BSGE	*Bulletin de la Société Royale de Géographie d'Égypte*
CAH	*Cambridge Ancient History.*
CD	*A Coptic Dictionary* (Crum).
CGC	*Catalogue Général du Musée du Caire.*
CGS	*The Cults of the Greek States* (Farnell).
CT	*Coffin Texts.*
DFA	*The Dramatic Festivals of Athens* (Pickard-Cambridge).
DG	*Dictionnaire Géographique* (Brugsch).
	Dictionnaire des Noms Géographiques (Gauthier).
	Géographie de l'Égypte Ancienne (Montet).
DIO	*De Iside et Osiride* (Plutarch).
DK	*Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* (Diels-Kranz).
DTC	*Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy* (Pickard-Cambridge).
EAA	*Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica.*
EGF	*Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (Kinkel).
'Ηπ. Χρον.	*'Ηπειρωτικὰ Χρονικά.*

FuF *Forschungen und Fortschitte.*
FgrH *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (Jacoby).
FHG *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* (Müller, K)..

GdA *Geschichte des Altertums* (Meyer).
GB *The Golden Bough* (Frazer).
GGM *Geographi Graeci Minores* (Müller, K.).
GrG *Griechische Geschichte* (Bengtson).
GgrL *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* (Lesky).
GHC *Greek Hero Cults* (Farnell).
GLG *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* (Schmid-Stählin).
GLM *Geographi Latini Minores* (Riese).
GrM *Griechische Mythologie* (Preller-Robert).
GgrR *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* (Nilsson).
GT *Great Tombs of the First Dynasty* (Emery).

HCT *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides* (Gomme).
HEL *A Hebrew and English Lexicon* (Brown-Driver-Briggs).
HERE *Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics.*
HGR *A History of Greek Religion* (Nilsson).
HTBM *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. in the British Museum.*
HWb *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch* (Delitzsch).

JMEOS *Journal of Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society.*
JPh *Journal of Philology.*
JRAS *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
JSOR *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research.*

KP *Der kleine Pauly*
KR *The Presocratic Philosophers* (Kirk-Raven).

LAAA *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology.*
LCL Loeb Classical Library.
LD *Denkmäler* (Lepsius).
L.E. *Lower Egypt.*
LEM *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies* (Caminos).
LES *Late-Egyptian Stories* (Gardiner).
L.P. Late Period.
LR *Le Livre des Rois* (Gauthier).
LRL *Late Ramesside Letters* (Černý).
LSJ *Greek-English Lexicon* (Liddell-Scott-Jones).

MCME *The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (Lane).
MES *Middle-Egyptian Stories* (Blackman).
MIFAO *Mémoires publiés par les Membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire.*

M.K. Middle Kingdom.
ML *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* (Roscher).
MMF *Mémoires publiés par les Membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire.*
MMR *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion* (Nilsson).
MMS *Metropolitan Museum Studies.*
MR *Die Reliefs und Malereien des mittleren Reiches* (Klebs).
MSAA *Mémoires de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie.*

N.K. New Kingdom.
NGWG *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.*
NR *Die Reliefs und Malereien des neuen Reiches* (Klebs).
OA *Orient und Antike.*
ODMG *The Oxford Dictionary of Modern Greek* (Pring).
O.K. Old Kingdom.

PM *Topographical Bibliography* (Moss-Porter-Burney).
PSBA *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.*
PT *Pyramid Texts.*

RAC *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum.*
RÄRG *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Bonnet).
RE *Revue d'Égyptologie* (1-3. 1933, 1936-8).
RT *Recueil de Travaux Relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes.*
RTM *Rock Tombs of Meir.*
RdV *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte.*
SPAW *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.*

Tb *Totenbuch* (Naville).
TZSL *Transactions of the Zoological Society of London.*

UBHJ *University of Birmingham Historical Journal.*
UCPCPh *University of California Publications in Classical Philology.*
UCPSPh *University of California Publications in Semitic Philology.*
U.E. Upper Egypt.
Urk *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums.*

CHAPTER ONE

THE GREEKS IN EGYPT FROM THE BRONZE AGE TO THE TIME OF HERODOTUS

The history of the Greeks in Egypt can be divided into four stages :

1. The Mycenaean Period (c. 1580-1100 B.C.).
2. The Dark Ages and Orientalizing Period (c. 1100-680 B.C.).
3. The Archaic Period and Classical Period (c. 680-332 B.C.).
4. The Hellenistic and Roman Period (332 B.C.-640 A.D.).

For present purposes it is only necessary to discuss relations down to the middle of the Fifth Century B.C.

I. The Mycenaean Age

The Mycenaean Age, and with it the history of Greeks in Egypt at that time, can be divided into two phases :

I. A period of flourishing Bronze Age culture (c. 1580-1230 B.C.).
II. A period of collapse (c. 1230-1100 B.C.).

I. The period c. 1580-1200 B.C. marks the high summer of Bronze Age civilization throughout the Near East and Eastern Mediterranean. Mycenaean Culture was only one of a number of brilliant civilizations which were often closely enmeshed by political, military, cultural and economic ties. Such interrelations are rarely difficult to detect but it is frequently impossible to establish, when only the last two categories are involved, whether they were of a direct or indirect nature. So it is with contact between Greeks and Egyptians, at least in the first 180 years of this age. It certainly existed but how far it was the result of Greeks going to Egypt or *vice versa* it is impossible to say. It is, in fact, not until the collapse of Crete, when the Late Bronze Age had run almost half its course, that the evidence becomes sufficient for us to say with confidence that Mycenaean Greeks were certainly visiting the Valley of the Nile.

At the end of L.M. II (c. 1400 B.C.) the ancient political and commercial

hegemony of Minos passed irrevocably to Mycenaean Greece.[1] This development will have involved, amongst other things, the Mycenaean assumption of Cretan relations with Egypt and an examination of our information on that topic will, therefore, inevitably tell us much about the nature of this Greek involvement.

Relations between Crete and Egypt [2] began during the Cretan Neolithic but certain evidence of the presence of Cretans in Egypt is not available until the New Kingdom. During that time small quantities of Minoan antiquities occur in the country [3] and there is ample proof of strong Minoan artistic influence.[4] Furthermore, in the New Kingdom for the first time we find the Egyptian word for Crete (*Kftiw*).[5] That these data

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[1] Boardman ap Palmer & Boardman, *On the Knossos Tablets*, Oxford, 1963, p. *83* ff.; Hooker, "The Context of the Knossos Tablets", *SMEA* 5 (1968), p. 71 ff.

[2] Vide Evans, *Palace of Minos*, V Vols., London, 1921-36, Index s.v. Egypt; Pendlebury, *Archaeology of Crete*, London 1939, Index s.v. Egypt; Vercoutter, *L'Égypte et le Monde Egéen Préhellénique*, Cairo, 1956; id., *Essai sur les relations entre Égyptiens et Préhellènes*, Paris, 1954; Ehrich (ed.), *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology*, Chicago, 1965, p. 19 ff.; Stevenson Smith, *Interconnections in the Ancient Near East*, New Haven & London, 1965; Morenz, *Die Begegnung Europas mit Ägypten*, Berlin, 1968, p. 44 ff.; Schachermeyr, *Ägäis und Orient*, Vienna, 1967; Severyns, *Grèce et Proche-Orient*, Brussels, 1968. For Eg. material in Crete Porter-Moss-Burney, *Topographical Bibliography*, VII, Oxford, 1951, p. 405.

[3] The Marseilles Oinochoe of unknown provenance and L.M. Ib date (Evans, op. cit., II, p. 509; Pendlebury, op. cit., pl. XL, I); the Sedment alabastron of the same period (Petrie & Brunton, *Sedment*, II, London, 1924, pl. XLVIII, grave 137; Evans, op. cit., IV, p. 271); L.M. II sherd from El Amarna (Frankfort & Pendlebury, *The City of Akhenaten*, London, 1933, II, p. 110); the Gurob alabastron of early XVIIIth Dynasty date (Brunton & Engelbach, *Gurob*, London, 1927, pl. XIII, 4) and the L.M. Ib affinities of pottery from Anibah in Nubia (Evans, op. cit., IV, p. 267 ff.) virtually exhaust the material.

[4] The flying gallop is probably Cretan (Evans, op. cit., I, p. 714). The griffin on the axe of King Aḥmose looks very Minoan (Evans, op. cit., I, pp. 710-12) as do the rocky outlines on the dagger of Queen Aḥḥotpe (Evans, op. cit., II, p. 361), S-scrolls (N. de G. Davies and Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemhēt*, London, 1915, pl. XXXII, c) etc. In general, vide Stevenson Smith (op. cit.) and Schachermeyr (op. cit.).

[5] That this is the meaning of *Kftiw* is demonstrated beyond any reasonable doubt by Vercoutter (*Essai*, p. 93 ff.). The one alleged pre-New Kingdom example of the word (*Admonitions* 3, 8-9) is suspect. Since the context of this work is First Intermediate Period, V. (*L'Égypte*, p. 42 ff.) regards the word as evidence of contact at that period. This will not do. The manuscript dates to the XIXth Dynasty and V. (op.

reflect the physical presence of Cretans in the Nile Valley is placed beyond doubt by the representations of what are indubitably Cretans in a series of XVIIIth Dynasty tombs at Thebes beginning in the reign of Ḥatshepsut and ending in that of Amenḥotpe III.[6] The rubrics to these paintings claim that the Cretans were bringing merchandise to Pharaoh [7] and, therefore, prove what we should in any case have guessed, viz. that their interest in the country at that period was essentially commercial.

It is clear that the Mycenaeans not only followed this lead but even improved upon it. Minoan pottery is quickly supplanted in Egypt by Mycenaean wares of L.H. IIIa-b type, L.H. IIIa being particularly common at El Amarna which for a short while in the late XVIIIth Dynasty was the capital of Egypt. Indeed Mycenaean pottery, particularly stirrup jars, soon attains a wider currency than Minoan pottery ever did.[8] We may even have representations of the new-comers since on the *Kftiw* paintings clear changes in dress style are detectable which coincide chronologically with the triumph of Mycenaean power.[9] Close contacts

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cit., p. 40) himself admits the possibility of interpolation. There is, in fact, a marked tendency for Egyptian scribes to bring texts up to date. V., however, rejects the possibility here because the MS. was written in the XIXth Dynasty when the word *Kftiw* was obsolescent. This being the case, he claims that *Kftiw* must have occurred in the original MS. This does not follow. There is no reason why a scribe of the XIXth Dynasty should not have copied a text of the XVIIIth which had been interpolated during the dynasty. There are in fact indications that the prototype was of that date (Gardiner, *Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, Leipzig, 1909, p. 2 ff.). Apart from this text the earliest references are in a New Kingdom writing board (Peet, "The Egyptian Writing-Board, B.M. 5647", *Studies Evans*, Oxford, 1927, p. 90 ff.) and the Ebers Medical Pap. (Wreszinski, *Der Papyrus Ebers*, Leipzig, 1913, 9, 19).

[6] Discussed Vercoutter, *L'Égypte*, p. 185 ff.

[7] Op. cit., p. 56 ff.

[8] For material outside El Amarna vide Brunton & Engelbach, *Gurob*, London, 1927, pl. XIII, 4; Pendlebury, op. cit., p. 223; Edgar, *Greek Vases, CGC*, Cairo, 1911, 26124-33; Firth & Gunn, *Excavations at Saqqara. Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, Cairo, 1926, II, pl. 42; *BMCat.*, A651; Evans, op. cit., IV, p. 266 ff.; Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun & Gurob*, London, 1891, pl. XXVI; *Arch. Anz.* 14 (1899), p. 57. All Amarna pots are of the Mainland-Rhodes-Cyprus type (Pendlebury, *Aegyptiaca*, Cambridge, 1930, p. 54; id., *City of Akhenaten*, II, p. 110). In general Vercoutter, *Essai*, p. 141 ff.

[9] Vercoutter, *L'Égypte*, pp. 256 ff., 397 ff.; id., *Essai*, p. 118 ff.

are also probably reflected by the occurrence of the name *Ai-ku-pi-ti-jo* (*Αἰγύπτιος*) in a Linear B tablet.[10] On the Greek side we find that Egyptian antiquities, particularly faience, occur in considerable quantities on the mainland in L.H. III contexts, quantities indeed which surpass anything from Crete in the Late Bronze Age.[11]

From all this a clear and coherent picture emerges. With the eclipse of Crete c. 1400 B.C. the Mycenaeans assumed Minoan commercial pre-eminence [12] and this involved, amongst other things, embarking on direct contact with Egypt on some scale. This development is reflected almost immediately by the spectacular rise in the importation of Mycenaean pottery into the Nile Valley, by modifications in the dress style of the *Kftiw* peoples and the occurrence in Greece of the name Aigyptios. Just as the Cretan interest had been commercial so was it with the Myceanaeans. The presence of Mycenaean stirrup jars in large quantities indicates that a major, if not the principal Greek export was ointments; for they were useless for any other substance and Mycenaean records frequently refer to the collection of aromatic herbs.[13] One of the commodities received in exchange from the Egyptians was faience whose amuletic value probably increased its desirability far beyond any intrinsic worth it might have possessed. It would not be surprising if the trade between the two people amounted to a great deal more than this, but evidence is lacking and speculation is best avoided.

This is as much as we can say with confidence about the activities of Mycenaeaens in Egypt down to the middle of the 13th Century B.C. but some scholars have gone so far as to suggest that commerce was by no means the only reason for Mycenaean interest and have argued that at the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty Mycenaeans served as mer-

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[10] Ventris & Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, Cambridge, 1956, Index, p. 414. The name of Psammetichus son of Gorgos and nephew of Periander (Arist., *Pol* 1315b; Nic. Dam., *FgrH* 90, F. 59) provides an irresistible parallel.

[11] Evans, op. cit., Index s.v. Faience; Pendlebury, *Archaeology*, Index s.v. Faience; id., *Aegyptiaca*, Index s.v. Faience; Vercoutter, *Essai*, p. 142.

[12] Mertens, "Völkerwanderungen im östlichen Mittelmeer am Ende des 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr.", *Das Altertum* 10 (1964), p. 4.

[13] Palmer, *Mycenaean Greek Texts*, Oxford, 1963, pp. 269 ff., 300 ff.; id., *Mycenaeans & Minoans*, London, 1965, pp. 21, 113.

cenaries in the Egyptian armies which expelled the Hyksos from the country.[14] This opinion is based on the following evidence :

i. The Shaft Graves at Mycenae contained a great quantity of gold which, it is claimed, must have come from abroad. Since Egypt was renowned for its wealth in this commodity, it is suggested that the metal in the Shaft Graves came from there.
ii. Some objects in the Shaft Graves can be regarded as imports from Egypt, while others betray an Egyptian influence.
iii. The term *Ḥ3w nbw* which occurs in Egyptian texts of this and other periods is claimed to refer to Greeks.

None of these arguments has anything to recommend it.[15] There is no need whatsoever to look to Egypt for the origin of Mycenaean gold, since the Mycenaeans had sources available nearer home both in Greece and Asia Minor.[16] It should further be borne in mind that analysis of gold objects of the XVIIIth Dynasty from Egypt reveals a silver content of 11.2 to 17.2% in almost every case,[17] whereas Mycenaean gold objects show 8.55%.[18] This, though not conclusive, must cast considerable doubt on the hypothesis of an Egyptian origin. Furthermore, Egyptian and Egyptianizing antiquities in the Shaft Graves may be explained as a legacy of Minoan Crete or even more simply as trade objects. Finally the word *Ḥ3w-nbw* does not refer to Greeks until the Saite Period[19]

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[14] Persson (*New Tombs at Dendra*, London, 1942, p. 176 ff.) and Marinatos (*Festschrift Bernhard Schweitzer*, Stuttgart, 1954, p. 11 ff.; " 'Numerous Years of Joyful Life', From Mycenae", *BSA* 46 (1951), p. 112, n. 28). Cf. also Walcot, *Hesiod and the Near East*, Cardiff, 1966, p. 71.

[15] So also Vermeule, *Greece in the Bronze Age*, Chicago & London, 1964, p. 109; Hooker, "The Mycenae Siege Rhyton and the Question of Egyptian Influence", *AJA* 71 (1967), p. 276 ff.

[16] Forbes, *Metallurgy in Antiquity*, Leiden, 1950, p. 150 ff.; id., *Studies in Ancient Technology*, Leiden, 1966, VII, p. 143 ff.; Hooker, op. cit., p. 281.

[17] Lucas & Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, 4th Ed., London, 1962, pp. 226 ff., 245 ff. with table p. 490. There is no evidence that the Egyptians could purify gold before the Persian Period (op. cit., p. 229).

[18] Partington, *Origins and Development of Applied Chemistry*, London, 1935, p. 350 ff.

[19] Vercoutter, *L'Égypte*, p. 15 ff.; id., *Essai*, p. 37 ff.; id., "Les Haou-Nebout", *BIFAO* 46 (1947), p. 125 ff.; ib. 48 (1949), p. 107 ff.

but even if the argument had been valid it would have proved nothing about Greek mercenaries in Egypt during the Late Bronze Age.

It is then quite clear that the evidence in favour of the mercenary hypothesis is quite unsatisfactory. Certain it is that the Pharaohs of the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty did employ foreign troops but there is not a shred of evidence in the texts of the period that they were of Greek extraction.[20]

II. The period of the collapse of Mycenaean Civilization was an age when the whole Mediterranean world was shaken to its roots by the movement of barbarian tribes in Asia and southern Europe—a movement which brought the Dorians into Greece and the Phrygians into Asia Minor. The ensuing disturbance of older settlements resulted, amongst other things, in two attempts at the invasion of Egypt in which Greeks are claimed to have been involved :

(a) The attack on Egypt by the Libyans and the "Peoples of the Sea" in the reign of Mineptaḥ.
(b) The invasion of the Sea Peoples in the reign of Ramesses III.

(a) The attempted Libyan invasion took place in Year 5 of Mineptaḥ (c. 1224-1214 B.C.) and is recorded on a stele from Athribis as well as a long inscription at Karnak.[21] Under the leadership of Maraye, son of Did, Libyans marched on the western Delta together with their allies the Aḳawasha, Tursha, Luka, Shardana and Shekelesh. Of these reinforcements the most important appear to have been the Aḳawasha if we may judge from their casualties which far surpassed those of the other allied contingents.[22] There is good reason to believe that they were Mycenaean Greeks.

In the first place, the name *Aḳawasha* bears a striking resemblance to the Greek * *Αχαιϝοι* "Achaeans", a word used quite generally in Homer for "Greeks". The ending "-sha" is probably a Libyan suffix wrongly

[20] The Pan-Grave People of Upper Egypt were probably Nubian mercenaries who had been employed by the Theban Pharaohs in their wars to expel the Hyksos (Hayes, *CAH* Cambridge, 1962, II, Ch. XI, fasc. 6, p. 35 ff.).

[21] *BAR* III, 574 ff., 596 ff.; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, IV, 1, Oxford, 1968, pp. 2 ff., 19 ff.

[22] Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, Oxford, 1961, p. 270 ff.

applied to the name by Egyptian scribes.[23] It has been objected that an ethnic reading *Aḫḫiyawa* found in Hittite documents also has a good claim to be regarded as the name for the Achaean Greeks, that the identification of the *Aḫḫiyawa* and the *Aḳawasha* is difficult on philological grounds and that, consequently, if we accept that the *Aḫḫiyawa* are the Achaeans—and that is now virtually certain [24]—we are compelled to admit that the *Aḳawasha* were not. This argument, however, is by no means as cogent as it may appear. It is paralleled by the linguistic difficulty in identifying *Ἀχαιοί* and *Aḫḫiyawa*—a difficulty which is clear enough but which must surely be overruled in the light of the compelling textual and archaeological evidence that they *are* identical.[25]

Clearly, then, philological arguments do not have the last word in such matters. If other evidence points strongly in a different direction we ignore philology and that means, in turn, that the reason for doubting the identification *Ἀχαιοί* / *Aḳawasha* is deprived of all force.[26] This view is considerably strengthened by the fact the names of other contingents in the Egyptian list find easy parallels in the Greek world of the late Bronze Age. Indeed, the mention of the Luka [27] and Tursha [28] as allies of the *Aḳawasha* points very strongly in the direction of Asia Minor.

The picture presented by these traditions is, in fact, clear enough. About 1220 B.C. a number of peoples inhabiting Asia Minor, Achaean Greeks amongst them, became involved in a raid on Egypt. They were

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[23] Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, 5th Ed., Stuttgart & Berlin, 1926, II, 1, p. 557. It may also have been Asian.

[24] Gurney, *The Hittites*, Harmondsworth, 2nd Ed. (Rev.), 1961, p. 53 ff.; Huxley, *Achaeans & Hittites*, Oxford, 1960, *passim*.

[25] Gurney, l.c.; Huxley, op. cit., p. 15 ff.

[26] The Egyptian statements that the *Aḳawasha* were circumcised are the one serious objection (Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, Oxford, 1947, I, pp. 122*, 196*). The scribes may have been confused by the multitude of barbarians with which they were faced. Alternatively, it is quite possible that the word *Aḳawasha*, though meaning basically Achaean, was being used collectively to include non-Greeks fighting under the Achaean standard, just as the term "British Army" in the days of the Empire might cover Indians, Africans, Malays, Commonwealth forces etc. as well as troops from the British Isles.

[27] The Lukka-lands, surely Lycia, are frequently mentioned in Hittite documents (Gurney, op. cit., p. 47 ff.; Goetze, *Kleinasien*, 2nd Ed., Munich, 1957, p. 181 ff.).

[28] Probably Etruscans who according to tradition came from Asia Minor (Herodotus, I, 94). H.'s views are, in general terms, corroborated by philological and cultural evidence and are now generally accepted.

almost certainly displaced by invading barbarians; for it can hardly be any coincidence that the date of the invasion falls during the reign of Arnuwandas III (1220-1190) when the Hittite Empire was already crumbling before what are probably Phrygian attacks on the western frontier.[29]

(b) The invasion of the Sea Peoples took place in Year 8 of Ramesses III (1182-1151 B.C.). The text recording the attack runs as follows

> The foreign countries made a plot in their islands. Dislodged and scattered by battle were the lands all at one time, and no land could stand before their arms, beginning with Khatti, Ḳode, Carchemish, Arzawa, and Alasiya ..... They came, the flame prepared before them, onwards to Egypt. Their confederacy consisted of Peleset, Tjekker, Sheklesh, Danu, and Weshesh, united lands, and they laid their hands upon the lands to the entire circuit of the earth, their hearts bent and trustful 'Our plan is accomplished!'[30]

As with the earlier attack it has been claimed that Greeks were involved. In particular much has been made of the fact that the name *Dn(n)* (Danu(na)) is reminiscent of *Δαναοί*, an ethnic used by Homer in the general sense of Greeks. This similarity is, however, probably coincidental. There is, in fact, another people who might be identified with the *Dnn*; for an ethnic *Danunim* is found in the 8th Century bi-lingual Hittite/Phoenician texts from Karatepe in Cilicia in the forms *Adanawanai* (Hittite) and *Dnnym* (Phoenician). Both of these writings suggest that the name is based on that of the ancient city of Adana (Hittite *Ataniya*) and means "Men of Adana".[31] It must be admitted that the Egyptian is closer to the name of the Karatepe Texts than to the Greek. Consequently, in the present state of our knowledge, we cannot regard the *Dnn* of the Medinet Habu inscriptions as evidence of the presence of Greeks in the invasion of Year 8 of Ramesses III.[32]

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[29] Cf. Mertens, op. cit., pp. 4, 7.

[30] Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, p. 284 ff. ~ Nelson et al., *Medinet Habu* I, Chicago, 1930, pl. 46, 16-18.

[31] Gurney, op. cit., p. 42 ff.

[32] The identity of *Dnn-Dnnym-Δαναοί* is unlikely since there is no indication that the *Δαναοί* ever had any connection with southern Asia Minor. They are firmly located in the Peloponnese (v. Gärtringen, *Der kleine Pauly*, I, 1380). The legendary origins of Danaus *pace* Barnett ("Mopsos", *JHS* 73 (1953), p. 140 ff.) have nothing to do with historical oriental affinities (vide infra, p. 123 ff.). Gardiner is inclined to accept the correlation *Dnn/Δαναοί* without, however, once considering the alternative discussed here (*Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, I, p. 124*ff.).

Although, however, the *Dnn* argument is highly questionable, there is strong evidence that some of the Sea Peoples were of Greek extraction. Not only are the invaders explicitly stated to have come from the Islands but on the famous Medinet Habu reliefs of the great sea battle in which they were defeated, the kilt worn by some of the Sea Peoples is reminiscent of representations of the *Kftiw* in Theban tombs of the XVIIIth Dynasty.[33] Most compelling of all, however, is the consideration that the Peleset are, beyond doubt, the ancestors of the Biblical Philistines and they are placed firmly within the Mycenaean-Minoan *Kulturkreis* both by the strong tradition that they came from the island of Kaphtor (Crete) [34] and by the close affinities with Late Mycenaean Pottery shown by Philistine ceramics.[35]

Thus, even if we ignore the problematic *Dnn*/*Δαναοί* correlation we still have cogent grounds for assuming that Mycenaean Greeks were involved in this assault, especially when we bear in mind the evidence already adduced to prove the presence of Greeks in an earlier attack on Egypt.

2. The Dark Ages and the Orientalizing Period

The invasions of the Sea Peoples mark the last evidence of Greeks in Egypt for centuries. During the Proto-Geometric Period which emerged from Sub-Mycenaean about 1050 B.C. there is no trace of any relations whatsoever between the mainland of Greece and Egypt, though there is some material from Crete which proves that Egyptian relations with the Aegean had not completely dried up.[36] In fact the first centuries of

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[33] Cf. Meyer, op. cit., p. 561 ff.

[34] Gardiner, op. cit., p. 200*ff.

[35] Desborough, *The Last Mycenaeans and their Successors*, Oxford, 1964, p. 237 ff.; Hrouda, "Die Einwanderung der Philister in Palästina. Eine Studie zur Seevölkerbewegung des 12 Jahrhunderts", *Vorderasiatische Archäologie. Studien Moortgat*, Berlin, 1964, p. 126 ff.; Albright, *CAH* II, Ch. XXXIII, fasc. 51, Cambridge, 1966, p. 25 ff.

[36] E.g. faience seals from Tomb I Vrokastro which is post-Minoan. They are covered with rough hieroglyphs and should be dated XX-XXIInd Dynasty (Hall, *Excavations in Eastern Crete, Vrokastro. University of Penns. The Museum. Anthrop. Publications*, III, 3, p. 136); faience objects from unpublished tombs at Cnossos (Pendlebury, *Archaeology*, p. 313).

the Dark Ages were periods of desperate effort during which Greece strove to recover from the effects of the barbarian invasions.[37] Small, largely self-contained units dragged on a parochial existence for decades laying the foundations for the return of prosperity. Towards the end of the Ninth Century Greece began to rally. Prosperity grew and with it the demand for luxury goods slowly asserted itself. This led in turn to the resumption of relations with the Near East. Towards the end of the Geometric Period we find clear, if infrequent, evidence of renewed contact between Greece and Egypt, probably *via* Syria, in the form of Egyptian or Egyptianizing antiquities on sites such as Eleusis,[38] the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta [39] and Perachora.[40] This evidence is quickly supplemented by the appearance of Egyptian motifs, forming part of a general tendency towards imitation of eastern models which has earned the period c. 750-650 the name of the Orientalizing Period.[41]

Whilst, however, we have such evidence of Egyptian influence in Greece, not only has no Proto-Geometric or Geometric Pottery been found in Egypt but no Greek antiquities at all which can be dated earlier than the late Seventh Century B.C.[42] This fact suggests that in the period under discussion trade moved northwards. Furthermore, since we have good reason to believe that commerce in the Eastern Mediterranean at this time was in the hands of Phoenician merchants,[43] the Egyptian and Egyptianizing elements probably came to Greece through them. Conse-

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[37] For a detailed discussion of the period vide Snodgrass, *The Dark Age of Greece*, Edinburgh, 1971.

[38] The famous Isis-grave at Eleusis containing Eg. scarabs of the second half of the Eighth Century (v. Bissing ap Skias, *Παναρχαία 'Ελευσινιακὴ Νεκρόπολις*, *'Εφ 'Αρχ* (1898), 120). That this was the date of the entire deposit is indicated by the fact that it contained Attic vases dating shortly before 700 B.C. (Young, *Late Geometric Graves*, *Hesperia* Supp. 2, Athens, 1939, p. 234 ff.).

[39] Dawkins, *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta*, London, 1929, Index s.v. Egypt.

[40] Payne, *Perachora : The Sanctuaries of Hera Akraia & Limenia*, Oxford, 1940, I, pp. 34, 142 ff.; Dunbabin, *Perachora*, Oxford, 1962, II, p. 461 ff.

[41] In general Boardman, *Pre-classical : from Crete to Archaic Greece*, Harmondsworth, 1967, p. 73 ff.

[42] Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments*, London, 1950, p. 88.

[43] Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*, Harmondsworth, 1964, p. 60; Albright, op. cit., p. 40 ff.

quently, the archaeological material does not indicate direct relations between the two areas in the period under discussion.

Although, however, there is no archaeological evidence, we are not completely lost. For Homer almost certainly refers to direct relations in a well-known episode of the *Odyssey*. In two passages (XIV, 245 ff.; XVII, 424 ff.) we hear of a voyage which Odysseus claims to have made to Egypt. He states that he set out as a pirate from Crete with a number of ships in the direction of Egypt. When he reached it he anchored on the Nile but, despite clear instructions to the contrary, his men got out of hand and started to plunder the surrounding countryside. This act led to a swift reaction from an unnamed king who defeated the Greeks and put them to flight. Odysseus himself surrendered and was well treated, eventually leaving the country in the company of a Phoenician merchant.

It has often been claimed that this tale is a reflection of the Sea Raids [44] which have already been discussed but there are good reasons for assigning the context of the whole affair to the Eighth Century B.C. :

I. The mention of the Phoenician trader, one of many in the *Odyssey*. At first sight this might seem to suit Mycenaean times quite well since we know that there were close links between the Greeks and Syria at this time.[45] However, Odysseus tells us that the merchant had interests in North Africa, a statement strongly suggesting that we are concerned with the period of Phoenician maritime expansion which cannot be dated much earlier than 1000 B.C. and in North Africa not later than the Ninth Century.[46]

II. The conditions in Egypt implied by the Odyssey fit what we know of the country after the XXth Dynasty. A *βασιλεύς* with a *πόλις* so near the sea that he can react almost immediately to the attack of

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[44] Lorimer, op. cit., p. 90 ff.; Wace & Stubbings, *A Companion to Homer*, London, 1962, p. 308; Stella, "Importanza degli scavi di Ras Shamra per il Problema Fenicio dei Poemi Omerici", *Arch. Class.* 4 (1952), p. 72 ff.; id., *Il Poema di Ullisse*, 1955, p. 41 ff.

[45] That elements in the epic tradition go back to Mycenaean times is certain (Lorimer, op. cit., p. 52; Wace & Stubbings, op. cit., p. 342).

[46] Harden *The Phoenicians*, London, 1962, p. 62 ff.; Albright, op. cit., p. 33 ff. Boardman (op. cit., p. 216 ff.) prefers an Eighth Century date but his authority on such a matter takes second place to that of Albright.

Odysseus' henchmen suggests a kinglet in the Delta during the period of decadence after the collapse of XXth Dynasty.[47]

III. The *Odyssey* itself was probably composed by at the latest the first half of the Seventh Century B.C.[48]

IV. The clarity and absence of fable in this tale, as compared with other references to Egypt in the *Odyssey*, suggest that it is a late element in the Homeric tradition on Egypt.

If we bring these data together we arrive at the conclusion that the historical context in which this tale is imagined to be taking place lies between the Ninth Century and 700-650 B.C. i.e. the Orientalizing or Archaic Period.

Reducing this information to general terms we may infer that Greek pirates—Cretan or otherwise—were operating in the Eastern Mediterranean earlier than the establishment of close relations with Egypt in the Seventh Century and that it was conceivable to Greeks writing in the Eighth or the first half of the Seventh Century that such pirates might land in and even plunder Egyptian territory. When we recall that piracy was a commonplace hazard of life in early Greece,[49] this interpretation becomes even more plausible.

Another indication of contact in the Eighth Century—this time more precise—is to be found in the Annals of Sargon II from which we learn that the city of Ashdod rebelled against the King of Assyria in 712 and set up as ruler a certain Yatna or Yamani. The rebels were eventually brought to heel and Yatna compelled to flee to Egypt like many another

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[47] Hall (*CAH* Cambridge, 1925, III, p. 291 ff.), Gilbert ("Homère et l'Égypte", *CdE* 27 (1939), p. 57 ff.). Lorimer (op. cit., p. 92, n. 2) criticizes Hall on the ground that an Achaean would apply the term "to any one in command of a considerable body of troops". The contexts in which the word is used in the Linear B Tablets suggest that this is not true (Palmer, *Mycenaean Greek Texts*, Oxford, 1963, p. 227 ff.). In any case we are not concerned with the meaning which an Achaean would give the word but rather with the question of what it means in Homer—quite a different matter. To him it signified "king".

[48] Wace & Stubbings, op. cit., p. 259.

[49] Cf. Th., I, 4 ff. Pictures of coastal raiding are common on Attic vases of the Geometric Period (Kirk, "Ships on Geometric Vases", *BSA* 44 (1949), p. 93 ff.; Williams, "Ships in Greek Vase-painting", *Greece and Rome* 18 (1949), pp. 126 ff., 143 ff.).

political malcontent from Syria-Palestine in antiquity.[50] The interesting thing for our purpose is that there is excellent reason to believe that Yatna was an Ionian Greek.[51] Perhaps we can go a little further. The entire episode belongs to a long history of Egyptian diplomatic and military activity in Syria-Palestine whose sole aim was to create so much trouble in the area that no powerful aggressor from the Near East would ever be in a position to attack Egypt itself. Though Yatna was handed over in chains to Sargon after he fled to Egypt it is impossible to escape the suspicion that he had been a tool of the Egyptians from the very beginning—possibly a merchant with commercial interests in Syria or else an adventurer resident in Egypt whose willingness to act as a focal point for rebellion had been exploited by the Egyptian King.

3. The Seventh Century and later

The growth of prosperity already mentioned had two consequences :

1. The population began to increase and in many states quickly passed beyond the level which their agricultural resources could maintain.

2. There was a rising demand for luxury goods from the East. The results were colonization,[52] a great upsurge in commercial dealings [53] and the appearance of the mercenary soldier.[54] The first of these factors did not operate to a great extent in the east where there existed civilizations strong enough to prevent much colonization, though ἐμπόρια such as Al Mina and Naucratis were encouraged.[55] The other two, however, do

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[50] Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, Chicago, 1926-7, II, §§ 30 ff., 62; Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, 2nd Ed., Princeton, 1955, pp. 284 ff., 286; Dunbabin, *The Greeks and their Eastern Neighbours*, London, 1957, p. 31.

[51] Dunbabin, op. cit., p. 30 ff.; Boardman, op. cit., pp. 36, 69.

[52] For overpopulation in colonization vide Gwynne, "The Character of Greek Colonisation", *JHS* 38 (1918), p. 88 ff.; Boardman, op. cit., p. 145 ff.; Graham, *Colony and Mother City*, Manchester, 1964, p. 5.

[53] This solution occurs at Athens and in Chios (Boardman, l.c.).

[54] Griffith, *The Mercenaries of the Hellenistic World*, Groningen, 1968 (Reprint of the 1933 Ed.), p. 1 ff.

[55] Dunbabin, op. cit., p. 24 ff. & Boardman, op. cit., p. 57 ff. provide excellent summaries of the position.

find expression there and were responsible in the Seventh Century for the return of Greeks to Egypt on a large scale. From that period until the time of Herodotus they are mentioned or are identifiable in a wide variety of capacities :

1. Mercenaries.
2. Merchants.
3. Naval Experts.
4. Allies.
5. Students.

1. *Mercenaries.*

The earliest demonstrable appearance of Greeks as mercenary soldiers in Egypt occurs during the reign of Psammetichus I (664-610 B.C.) when we hear that Ionian and Carian mercenaries played a large part in establishing Psammetichus on the throne. The sequence of events is described in two main sources, the Rassam Cylinder [56] which gives the Assyrian version and Herodotus (II, 152, 3 ff.). According tot he Assyrian version Gyges of Lydia fell out with the Assyrian King Assurbanipal and entered into an alliance with Psammetichus I of Egypt, whose family had been vassals of Assyria for decades, and sent troops to his assistance. Herodotus, however, speaks simply of a chance visit by Carian and Ionian pirates who are described as χάλκεοι ἄνδρες and with whose help Psammetichus managed to subdue his rivals and gain control of the whole of Egypt. Here there is no mention of Lydia or Assyria.

These two documents present several difficulties :

(a) Are they both referring to the same event viz. the sending of Greek troops in the pay of Gyges to Egypt?
(b) Why does Herodotus not mention the Assyrians?

The answer to the second supplies the answer to the first. Since the Assyrians are *totally* ignored in this version, despite the fact that they were

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[56] Luckenbill, op. cit., II, p. 290 ff., Col. II, 95-110; cf. Zeissl, *Äthiopen und Assyrer in Ägypten, Ägyptologische Forschungen* 14, Glückstadt & Hamburg, 1944, p. 49 ff.

certainly the chief enemy, we must assume that they have been deliberately ignored. The only group which could have any interest in doing so were the Egyptians, in particular the Egyptian priests whose manipulation of historical tradition to avoid unpalatable facts is well attested.[57] We may go a little further. The version of Herodotus emphasizes the dominant rôle of Psammetichus who consults oracles, recognizes their fulfilment, hires the Greeks and defeats his enemies. This presents us with the familiar picture of the almighty and masterful pharaoh with which Egyptian historical documents frequently regale us.[58] The mention of the King of Lydia and Pharaoh's dependence on him would hardly fit such an image and is, therefore, ignored. Yet again, then, has priestly tradition contaminated the record. In fact, it is quite clear that Herodotus' version of the rise of Psammetichus is substantially the official Egyptian account with a thin Greek veneer which shows itself in several ways. First, the form of the oracular response mentioned in II, 152 is impossible in an Egyptian context,[59] though a natural reply for the mantic oracle at Delphi. We need not deny the basic tradition that Psammetichus consulted an oracle at this crucial point but the content of the response has, over the centuries, been modified by Greeks to suit a Greek context. A second element is probably contained II, 152, 4 where the account of the pirate attack on Egypt bears more than a slight resemblance to the description of Odysseus' famous raid.

The upshot of this discussion is, therefore, that the difference between the Assyrian and Herodotean account of the rise of Psammetichus can be explained without any difficulty. They refer to the same event and can be combined and used to supplement each other. If we do that, the outline of events becomes clear. Gyges, being hard pressed by the Assyrians, tried to stir up trouble elsewhere in the Empire and decided to assist Psammetichus of Sais by despatching a force of Carian and Ionian mercenaries [60] with whose aid the Assyrian garrisons were expelled. After

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[57] Vide infra pp. 90,105.

[58] De Buck, *Het Typische en het Individueele bij de Egyptenaren*, Leiden, 1929; Frankfort, *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, New York, 1961, p. 46 ff. The Kadesh Records are typical (cf. Gardiner, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II*, Oxford, 1960, p. 11 ff.).

[59] For Egyptian oracles and their techniques vide n. II, 83.

[60] D.S. (I, 66, 12) describes the process of obtaining the mercenaries in terms nearer

that he clearly turned these troops against the kinglets or monarchs of Lower Egypt who had achieved a high degree of autonomy under the semi-chaos of Assyrian rule.[61] The great success of these Greek mercenaries is quite clear and can be ascribed to two main factors :

1. Their quality as fighting men, particularly in the case of the Carians.
2. Their military equipment. At this time hoplite equipment was wide spread, though hoplite tactics do not occur until slightly later.[62] This point is emphasized in the tradition of *χάλκεοι ἄνδρες*.

In Upper Egypt, where Psammetichus used more subtle means, these troops were not employed. In 656 he arranged for his daughter Nitocris to be appointed High Priestess of Amun, which was, at this period, the most important ecclesiastical office at Thebes and thereby obtained control of an area which until that time had retained its loyalty to the old Ethiopian Dynasty.[63]

Now that Psammetichus had acquired the services of the Greeks and Carians, he had no intention of letting them go. The old warrior class, the *Μάχιμοι* of Greek writers, who were mostly of Libyan extraction, had for centuries been a cause of division in the land and consequently Psammetichus resolved to avoid any further reliance upon them. As a counterbalance he used the Greek mercenaries whom he settled in the country itself.[64] For this purpose he gave them settlements called *Στρατόπεδα* which lay between Bubastis and the sea on the Pelusiac Mouth of the Nile with the river between them [65] and which may have left traces

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the truth when he writes *ὁ μὲν Ψαμμήτιχος ἔκ τε τῆς Καρίας καὶ τῆς Ἰωνίας μισθοφόρους μεταπεμψάμενος* though he too ignores the Assyrians.

[61] Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens vom 7. bis zum 4. Jahrhundert vor der Zeitwende*, Berlin, 1953, p. 12 ff.

[62] Snodgrass, *Early Greek Armour and Weapons*, Edinburgh, 1964, p. 195 ff.

[63] Caminos, "The Nitocris Adoption Stela", *JEA* 50 (1964), p. 71 ff.; Kienitz, op. cit., p. 48 ff.; Vandier, "L'Intronisation de Nitocris", *ZÄS* 99 (1972), p. 29 ff. On the internal policy of Psammetichus in general vide Kees, "Zur Innenpolitik der Saïtendynastie", *NGWG. Phil. Hist. Kl. N.F.* 1 (1936), p. 95 ff.; Wessetzky, "Die Familiengeschichte des Peteêse als historische Quelle für die Innenpolitik Psametiks I", *ZÄS* 88 (1963), p. 69 ff.

[64] Kienitz, op. cit., p. 35 ff.

[65] Herodotus, II, 154. The Greek is not explicit on the number but implies two.

in what look like the graves of Carian mercenaries at Nebesheh dating from the XXVIth Dynasty to the mid Persian Period.[66] These camps they occupied for over a century until they were moved to Memphis during the reign of Amasis though Herodotus informs us that even in his time it was possible to see the slipways used for their ships as well as the ruins of the soldiers' houses.

One settlement of Greek mercenaries we know quite well—the camp at Daphnae on the north east frontier of the Delta. As far as our evidence goes, it was not one of the *Στρατόπεδα* of Herodotus but it can hardly have differed substantially from them. The earliest Saite king mentioned on finds is Psammetichus I but the vast majority of the material dates from the time of Amasis.[67] The Greek garrison stationed here and in the *Στρατόπεδα* was concerned with guarding the roads into Egypt across the Isthmus of Suez, always the most dangerous frontier,[68] and a perpetual source of concern to the Saites. For Psammetichus had Assyrians to fear throughout most of his reign and they were soon replaced after the fall of Nineveh (612) by other formidable enemies, first the Chaldaeans and then the Medes and Persians.

While dealing with the Greek mercenary camps it is convenient to raise a further topic which has been bruited abroad of late. Austin [69] writes as follows

> "Even if no proof were available, it would be a necessary assumption that the Greeks and Carians were granted rights of intermarriage with native Egyptian woman".

This view he supports by several arguments :

1. The *Καρομεμφῖται* at Memphis are spoken of by Aristagoras (*FgrH* 608, F. 9) as *ἐπιγαμίας πρὸς Μεμφίτας ποιησάμενοι*. Of this statement Austin adds that "It is specified that the *Καρομεμφῖται* had

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[66] Petrie, *Tanis*, II, London, 1888, pp. 7, 17 ff. P. states (p. 17 ff.) that the burials were Cypriot but 40 years later he had changed his mind and described them as Carian (*Seventy Years in Archaeology*, London, N.D., p. 64).

[67] Petrie, op. cit., p. 47 ff.; Cook, *Corpus Vas. Ant. Brit. Mus.*, VIII, London, 1954, pp. 40 ff., 57 ff.; Boardman, op. cit., p. 150 ff.

[68] Vide n. II, 30, 2.

[69] "Greece and Egypt in the Archaic Age", *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, Supp. 2, 1970, p. 18.

ἐπιγαμία with the Egyptians, and the source explains their composite ethnic accordingly ..."

2. The Naucratites did not have the right of ἐπιγαμία in the time of the Emperor Hadrian.[70]

3. "There is no evidence for periodic recruitments in Greece to fill gaps caused by losses or death, nor of the return to Greece of time-expired veterans from Egypt. On the contrary, Herodotus implies that the Greeks and Carians came in one single movement, were settled in Egypt, and remained there for at least several generations." [71]

This line of argument will not do. We cannot assume from the fragment of Aristagoras that the term ἐπιγαμία is being used in any technical sense equivalent to the Roman *ius conubii*. When Herodotus tells us that the Dodecarchs cemented relations between one another ἐπιγαμίας ποιησάμενοι, there can be no question whatsoever of ἐπιγαμία in the legal sense at issue. Obviously ἐπιγαμίας ποιεῖσθαι can mean simply "to intermarry" and Aristagoras may simply mean that the Carians had taken Egyptian women to wife. *Pace* Austin *nothing* is "specified".

It is certainly true that in the time of Hadrian Naucratis did not have the right of ἐπιγαμία in the sense of the *ius conubii* with the surrounding native population but the papyrus in question refers to conditions *in the Second Century A.D.* By that time the country had been in the hands of Macedonians or Romans for five hundred years and Greek law had been operating for centuries. In fact, as soon as the Macedonians established themselves we may assume that they found it necessary to define the position of Naucratis and that of the Greek inhabitants of Egypt in general in terms of Greek law. That is probably the earliest date at which we can speak of a proscription of ἐπιγαμία as part of the constitution of Naucratis. The wide currency of Greek harlots in the place is certainly no evidence for the proscription before the Macedonian conquest. Naucratis must have been full of sailors, merchants of substance and sundry other errant Greeks and most who came to Egypt must have gravitated there to savour the more dubious consolations of the Greek way of life.

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[70] Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chresthomathie der Papyruskunde*, Leipzig, 1912, I, 2, p. 44 ff., n. 27.

[71] Austin, l.c.

As for the third point, an *argumentum ex silentio* in view of the highly defective nature of our source material carries no weight whatsoever. Such arguments are only of value when the tradition is full. The alleged implications of Herodotus' narrative are equally unimpressive. What a text can be said to imply is often a reflection of the reader's bias and in this instance such appears to be case. Herodotus simply states that mercenaries came to Egypt, were employed by Pharaoh and given camps in Egypt. All this need mean is that mercenaries, once they had arrived in Egypt, became an institution as part of the military establishment. There were always mercenaries and there were permanent camps for them but it cannot be taken to imply that there was not a considerable turnover in the individual inhabitants of these camps.

So much for Austin's arguments but we have not finished with his thesis yet. Surely to speak of conferring or withholding the right of ἐπιγαμία in an Egyptian context is absurd. If we speak of ἐπιγαμία as a formal legal right we assume that the country in question has an interest in marriage as a legal state. In ancient Egypt this was clearly not the case. The law had no interest in marriage. It was a purely private arrangement where two people decided to set up house together, generally under certain moral sanctions such as the assent of the girl's parents. Certainly an unfair divorce might bring down social disfavour but—and this is the crucial point—there was no redress in law. The only point at which the law became involved was if a contract were made concerning property but even here the interest was in the contract *qua* contract and nothing more. The fact that it was connected with a marriage was quite irrelevant.[72] If a Greek wished to enter into a marriage with an Egyptian woman he would simply set up house with her as any Egyptian would. If he wished to draw up a contract establishing property rights he would do so in exactly the same terms as an Egyptian.

It is, then, clear that the "right of ἐπιγαμία" has no place in Egypt

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[72] On Egyptian marriage vide Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische Eheverträge*, Wiesbaden, 1960; Pestman, *Marriage and Matrimonial Property in Ancient Egypt*, Leiden, 1961; Tanner, "Untersuchungen zur ehe- und erbrechtlichen Stellung der Frau im pharaonischen Ägypten", *Klio* 49 (1967), p. 5 ff.; Allam, "Zur Stellung der Frau im alten Ägypten in der Zeit des Neuen Reiches", *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 26 (1969), p. 155ff.; id., "Zur Stellung der Frau im Alten Ägypten", *Das Altertum* 16 (2) (1970), p. 67 ff.

before the Macedonian conquest. Many marriages between Greek mercenaries and Egyptian women there certainly were [73] but they were what the papyri describe as *γάμοι ἄγραφοι* [74] contracted in the Egyptian fashion without any legal sanctions and, therefore, not requiring any permission from Pharaoh or his legal officials. To assert the opposite is simply to think Greek in a context where it makes no sense.

This military policy of preferring Greeks naturally offended the *Μάχιμοι* and we hear that in the reign of Psammetichus 240,000 of them emigrated to Ethiopia where, no doubt, they felt they would be treated with greater respect.[75] This resentment reached disastrous proportions in the reign of Apries and led to a great revolt of the native troops which cost the king his crown and ultimately his life,[76] but, despite the trouble caused, Greek mercenaries were employed by all the Saite kings. We find them recurring again and again in their campaigns two of which are particularly worth mentioning—the Asiatic campaign of Necho II and the Nubian Campaign of Psammetichus II.

Necho II was operating continually in Syria-Palestine from 609 until his catastrophic defeat in 605 at Carchemish in an attempt to check the growing threat of Chaldaea.[77] That Greek mercenaries were involved was always probable but the excavations of Woolley at Carchemish placed the matter beyond doubt [78]; for the finds included a Greek greave and a

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[73] Psammetichus son of Theocles (vide infra, p. 21) may have been a second generation mercenary while the *Καρομεμφῖται* and *Ἑλληνομεμφῖται* of Aristagoras (FgrH 608, F. 9) are obviously descendants of mercenary troops and, doubtless, other Greek and Carian visitors to Egypt. It is highly likely that time expired veterans did, in some cases, settle permanently in the country—Greeks could go native as the curious relief at Siwa shows (vide infra, p. 118.). Often, however, the liaisons would have been temporary and the women and children left behind when the soldiers returned to Asia Minor. The texts used by Seidl to prove the existence of restrictions on marriage with some foreigners (*Einführung in die ägyptische Rechtsgeschichte, Ägyptologische Forschungen* 10, Glückstadt - Hamburg - New York, 1951, p. 55, n. 280) seem to me to prove nothing of the sort. In particular P. Turin 2021 is damaged at the crucial point and it is not at all clear what should be supplied in the lacuna.

[74] Taubenschlag, *The Law of Graeco Roman Egypt*, New York, 1944, p. 87 ff.

[75] Vide n. II, 30.

[76] Vide infra, p. 23.

[77] Details Kienitz, op. cit., p. 20 ff.

[78] Woolley, *Carchemish*, London, 1914-52, II, p. 128.

shield which Boardman believes to be Greek work of the mid-Seventh Century or later.[79] Since the house in which the shield occurred was riddled with arrow-heads, we may perhaps imagine a last desperate stand by Greek troops as the Chaldaeans stormed through the city. It is possible that after this disaster the defeated Greeks were settled in a military camp at Mezad Hashavyahu.[80]

Much better known is the campaign against Nubia in Regnal Year 3 of Psammetichus II (593 B.C.) which is commemorated in the famous inscriptions of Abu Simbel as well as in Herodotus [81] and a number of Egyptian documents.[82] The most important Greek inscription [83] runs as follows :

> "When King Psammetichus came to Elephantine, those who sailed with Psammetichus the son of Theocles wrote this; and they came above Kerkis as far as the river allowed; and Potasimto led those of foreign speech and Amasis the Egyptians; and Archon the son of Amoebichus wrote us and Pelequs the son of Eudamus".

This campaign was motivated by threatening noises from the King of Nubia who seems to have been meditating an attempt to recover the territory lost by his predecessors in Upper Egypt.[84] That the expedition was brilliantly successful is clear; for it reached at least as far south as the Third Cataract and possibly proceeded even further as far as the Fourth which had been the frontier of Egyptian power in Nubia during the New Kingdom. That Greeks went all the way is made certain by this inscription despite the assertions of Claire Préaux to the contrary.[85]

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[79] Op. cit., pp. 75, 132.

[80] Boardman, op. cit., p. 75; Austin, op. cit., p. 16 with n. 1, p. 53.

[81] II, 161, 1.

[82] The Karnak Stele and the Tanis Stele discussed in detail by Yoyotte & Sauneron, "La Campagne Nubienne de Psammétique II et sa signification Historique", *BIFAO* 50 (1952), p. 157 ff.

[83] Meiggs & Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, Oxford, 1969, n. 7.

[84] For the history of the campaign vide Yoyotte & Sauneron, op. cit., passim; de Meulenaere, *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie*, Louvain, 1951, p. 67 ff.; Ratié, "Un "Chaouabti" du Général Potasimto au Musée d'Annecy", *BIFAO* 61 (1962), p. 45 ff.

[85] "Sur les communications de l'Éthiopie avec l'Égypte Hellénistique", *CdE* 53 (1952), p. 260.

One of the most intriguing features of the great inscription at Abu Simbel is the light which it sheds on the organization of the Egyptian army at this time. Certainly there has been disagreement on its precise significance in this respect. Hall claimed [86] that it indicates that the force had three divisions—a corps of Egyptians led by Amasis, a corps of Greeks led by Psammetichus, son of Theocles and a corps of other foreigners led by Potasimto. Boardman is also in favour of three divisions, Psammetichus being in charge of the river force and presumably the Egyptians in charge of two land corps.[87] These views seem untenable; for there are good reasons to believe that Potasimto was Commander of the Greeks as well as other foreign troops. First of all, the term *Ἀλλό-γλωσσοι* ("those of foreign speech") used in the inscription ought to include Greeks, as it certainly does in Herodotus (II, 154, 4). Secondly Potasimto is specifically described in Egyptian monuments both as "General of the Foreigners" and "General of the Greeks".[88] That being so, the Abu Simbel inscription must be taken to imply the existence of two corps, not three —a native Egyptian force commanded by Amasis and a polyglot mercenary force commanded by Potasimto and including Greeks. It is to the latter that Psammetichus and his cronies will have belonged, Psammetichus himself probably being a subordinate officer in charge of the detachment whose members were responsible for the graffiti. The commander-in-chief was presumably Amasis.[89]

It may be noted at this point that Diodorus Siculus (I, 67, 3) claims that the Greek troops in the Egyptian army were brigaded on the right of the line and native troops on the left. In the context this may be nothing more than a guess but if troops used in the late Seventh Century and after were hoplites this would be a perfectly natural arrangement;

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[86] *CAH* Cambridge, 1925, III, p. 301.

[87] Op. cit., p. 132.

[88] *'Imy-r ḫ3swt* and *Imy-r Ḥ3w nbwt*. For the meaning of these terms see Vercoutter, "Les Haou-Nebout", *BIFAO* 48 (1949), p. 187.

[89] A statue of Amasis bears an inscription in which he is described as *Irw mr(t) ḥm·f m t3 Sty* "he who fulfils what His Majesty desires in Nubia" (Rowe, "New Light on Objects belonging to the Generals Potasimto and Amasis in the Egyptian Museum", *ASAE* 38 (1938), p. 193 ff.). The most natural explanation of this is that he was the commander of the entire force. He is also described in the inscription as *Imy-r mnf3t* "Commander of the (Egyptian) Troops".

for the troops of the phalanx were extremely nervous of their right flank, i.e. the unshielded side,[90] and the Greeks might well have preferred not to leave its protection to Egyptians. Further, in Greek warfare the best troops were usually placed on the right and any other position might well have been regarded as an insult. Finally, it is worth observing that the move to the right characteristic of the advancing phalanx might have disrupted the line of non-Greek troops positioned to the right of them while it would have been a relatively simple matter for native troops positioned on their left to fill any gaps that might arise from this tendency. There is, therefore, a distinct possibility that Diodorus is correct.

In the reign of Apries, the Greek mercenaries temporarily lost their favoured position. A nationalistic uprising of the *Μάχιμοι* under the leadership of Amasis, led to the defeat of the mercenaries who consequently lost their privileges. They were withdrawn from the *Στρατόπεδα* and stationed in Memphis itself. The reason was doubtless to replace them with *Μάχιμοι* who were offended at the slight to themselves of stationing Greek troops at the most dangerous frontier.[91]

However that may be, Amasis certainly continued to use Greek mercenaries. In the short reign of his successor Psammetichus III Greek mercenaries loom large in the army and fought valiantly in the Battle of Pelusium in 525 which marks the beginning of the Persian Hegemony over Egypt. Although we know that the Persians took over the mercenary troops of the Saites, they are not mentioned on the Persian side during the revolt of Inarus and may have ceased to be part of the Persian garrison by then.

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[90] Th., V, 71, 1; Adcock, *The Greek and Macedonian Art of War*, Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1962, p. 8 ff.

[91] Herodotus II, 154. He is, of course, mistaken when he suggests that the purpose in moving the troops was to make them his bodyguard. Such a privilege would be unthinkable under the circumstances. We have here the mirage of the Philhellene Amasis (vide nn. II, 1; 178, 1). Good modern discussions of the revolt are those of Kienitz (op. cit., p. 161 ff.) and de Meulenaere (op. cit., p. 77 ff.). See also Jelínková-Reymond, "Quelques Recherches sur les Reformes d'Amasis", *ASAE* 54 (1957), p. 251 ff.

2. *Merchants*

Greek merchants first appeared in Egypt, as far as we know, at the very beginning of the reign of Psammetichus I. According to Diodorus [92] he was the first to open up the country to foreign traders and welcomed Greek and Phoenician merchants even during the time of the Dodecarchy. This must refer to the period between 664 and 656 since in the latter year Psammetichus became master of the whole of Egypt. It is not at all unlikely that the excellent Egyptian bronze vessels [93] which are found in Crete, Samos and elsewhere (dating c. 650 and earlier) are the fruits of this early phase of commercial activity and it is quite possible that we have a reflection of it in Herodotus' account of the abortive voyage of Colaeus of Samos to Egypt which certainly took place before the foundation of Cyrene i.e. not later than c. 630 B.C.[94] and could well have fallen before 650.[95]

Further details are found in Strabo [96] who tells us that in the reign of Psammetichus I Milesians came to Egypt with 30 ships and founded a settlement called "the Milesian Wall" on the Bolbitinic Mouth of the Nile. After an unspecified interval (*χρόνῳ δέ*) they moved up-stream, defeated someone called Inarus in a sea-battle—doubtless a Dodecarch [97]—and then founded the city of Naucratis—the city which was for 300 years to be the centre of Greek trade and civilization in Egypt. The tradition of a battle with the local population before Naucratis could be founded is also found in Aristagoras of Miletus (*FgrH* 608, F. 8) who informs us that the Naucratites had to fight all Egyptian cities on their way upstream except Gynaecospolis which lay opposite Naucratis on the west bank of Nile. Few would wish to accept this account in its entirety but it would surely be rash to deny that Aristagoras is preserving a tradition

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[92] I, 66, 8; 67, 9.

[93] Vide Boardman, op. cit., p. 129 ff.

[94] IV, 152; on Cyrene vide Chamoux, *Cyrène sous la Monarchie des Battiades*, Paris, 1953, p. 69 ff.; Boardman, op. cit., p. 170.

[95] Freyer-Schauenburg, "Kolaios und die westphönizischen Elfenbeine", *MDAI(M)* 7 (1966), p. 89 ff.

[96] XVII, 1, 18 (C 801-2).

[97] Richter (*Greek Kouroi*, London, 1960, p. 37) thinks that he must be the famous Inarus of the Athenian Expedition!

that the Greeks who founded Naucratis had had to fight. Indeed the statements of Strabo and Aristagoras fit very neatly together. Inarus is a name which, though thoroughly Egyptian, is associated with Libya [98] whilst Gynaecospolis lies to the west of the westernmost branch of the Nile [99] in an area whose Libyan affinities are strongly emphasized by Herodotus (II, 18) and whose northern part is actually described in Ptolemy as the Libyan Nome.[100] We have, therefore, considerable justification in accepting that the arrival of the Milesians at Naucratis involved them, somehow or other, in putting down trouble along the western frontier of the Delta. What was the date?

Our knowledge of the reign of Psammetichus is relatively full and everything which we know suggests that 656 B.C. marks the definitive re-unification of Egypt under Saite rule. There are no indications anywhere of internal disturbances after that date.[101] This compels us to the conclusion that Strabo and Aristagoras imply a date for the arrival of the Milesians at Naucratis prior to 656 B.C. At first sight this appears to contradict the archaeological material from the site which suggests a date of c. 620 B.C. *at the earliest* for the foundation.[102] There are several alternatives open to us to reconcile the discrepancy :

(a) We are mistaken in thinking that Psammetichus I did not have to fight after 656 B.C.
(b) We may plead that the excavations were not definitive—who could gainsay that?

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[98] Vide Spiegelberg, "Die Namen Psammetich und Inaros", *OLZ* 8 (1905), 559 ff.; id., "Der Name Inaros in ägyptischen Texten", *RT* 28 (1906), p. 197 ff.; Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, I, p. 42. II for the name.

[99] The city must be in the immediate vicinity of Naucratis (vide Str., XVII, I, 22 (C 803)). The exact site is unknown but the most plausible view is that it lay at Kom Firin near Delingat 10 miles S.W. of Naucratis (Hommel, *Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients*, Munich, 1926, pp. 900, 902; Ball, *Egypt in the Classical Geographers*, Cairo, 1942, p. 64; de Meulenaere, op. cit., p. 81 ff. n. 41; Bernand, *Le Delta Egyptien d'après les Textes Grecs*, Cairo, 1970, I, p. 554 ff.).

[100] *T3 Ṯnw* lay immediately to the west of the Delta and in cults was closely associated with it (Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, I, p. 116* ff.). For a discussion of Ptolemy on the question vide Hall, op. cit., pp. 113, 119, 121, 123.

[101] Kienitz, op. cit., p. 12 ff.; Gyles, *Pharaonic Policies and Administration*, Chapel Hill, 1959, p. 16 ff.

[102] Vide n. II, 178.

(a) seems unlikely. Certainly the record is not so full as to exclude absolutely such an eventuality but it is improbable.

(b) is a much more promising alternative and, starting from that, we could explain the discrepancy by circumstances such as the following. There is good reason to believe that there was a native settlement on the site which antedates all Greek remains and here Milesians could have appeared immediately after the defeat of Inarus, attracted by the obvious commercial advantages of the site; for it was near Sais, the capital; the Canopic Branch, on whose east bank it lay, was navigable to sea-going ships and there were good communications inland. They could have put up a few huts as a base for their trading operations which by their very nature would have left little if any trace in the archaeological record and they might then have been supplemented several decades later by a large influx of other traders who have left substantial evidence of their presence. Be that as it may, Miletus was quickly joined by other Greek states, Aegina and Samos probably being the first; for Miletus, Aegina and Samos all had separate τεμένη dedicated to their national gods in the central part of the city.

Shortly after 570 B.C. the city's fortunes took a dramatic turn as a result of the conflict of Apries and Amasis. The triumph of the anti-Greek faction meant that Amasis had to take measures to restrict Greek activities in the country. Apart from the measure already mentioned, he attacked Greek commerce by concentrating all trade in the city of Naucratis and commanded that Naucratis was to be the only ἐμπόριον in Egypt. If Greek merchant ships made a land-fall anywhere but at the Pelusiac Mouth of the Nile, they were compelled to sail west along the coast of the Delta until they reached it. If this were impossible because of wind-conditions, their cargoes were unloaded, placed on barges and brought to Naucratis along the Delta waterways.

Since Greek life in Egypt was forcibly being centred on Naucratis the land on which the Greeks could settle had to be increased and so Amasis gave them enough territory to serve as τεμένη in which they might build temples to their national gods. The states which benefited from this provision were Chios, Teos, Phocaea, Clazomenae, Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, Phaselis and Mytilene who built in common a shrine which they called the Ἑλλήνιον.

Of the constitution and administrative status of Naucratis before the time of Amasis we know little but it is probable that his measures had

considerable effect on the organization of the place, acting as a catalyst, clarifying and bringing greater coherence. From the strictly constitutional point of view we hear of προστάται τοῦ ἐμπορίου who may have been the supreme magistrates and who were provided by the states who shared the Ἑλλήνιον. How many προστάται there were we cannot say while their mode of appointment has been the subject of some disagreement. Possibly they were chosen from and elected by the residents of the states in question in Naucratis itself [103] but there is no escaping the fact that Herodotus states quite unequivocally that they were provided by the πόλιες and this can only mean that, as far as he knew, προστάται were sent out to Naucratis in much the same way as Corinthian magistrates were sent out to Potidaea.[104] In Hellenistic times we also hear of ταμοῦχοι. They were probably concerned with the Hellenium as they certainly were at Memphis [105] but this would not exclude secular functions as well. It is probable that there was a βουλή and an ἐκκλησία in the Sixth Century as there certainly were in Hellenistic times.[106]

What of Naucratis' relationship to the Egyptians? Herodotus makes it quite clear that Naucratis was intended by Amasis at least to be the nodal point of Greek commercial activity in Egypt. All trade was channelled strictly through it. Exports would be collected by Greek merchants in Upper Egypt and sent down to Naucratis and imports would be concentrated there until they could be disbursed to Egyptian markets. Such a concentration of trade with foreign countries is, in fact, an old Egyptian practice, the earliest known example being the arrangement made by Senwosret III (c. 1876-1838 B.C.) at the Second Cataract for trade between the Egyptian provinces to the north and free Nubians to the south. The text of the boundary stele at Semneh describes the scheme in the following terms

> "The southern frontier made in Regnal Year 8 under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Khakaurē' (May he live for ever and ever) in order to prevent it being passed by any Nubian journeying north by land

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[103] So Austin (op. cit., p. 32) and Roebuck ("The Organization of Naukratis", *CPh* 46 (1951), p. 215 ff.).

[104] Graham, *Colony and Mother City*, p. 136 ff.

[105] Vide n. II, 178.

[106] l.c.

> or in a *kꜣỉ*-boat as well as any livestock belonging to Nubians, with the exception of that Nubian who shall come to traffic at *'Iḳn* or on an embassy—or on any matter which may lawfully be done with them; but it shall be forbidden for any *kꜣỉ*-boat of the Nubians to pass northwards beyond *Ḥḥ* for ever".[107]

A strict surveillance was to be kept by the frontier garrison and all trade was carefully channelled through the town of *'Iḳn* where doubtless a government tax was levied on all transactions. A stele of Nectanebo I (378-360 B.C.) gives a clear idea of the arrangement at Naucratis in his time.

> "Then did His Majesty say 'Let there be a tithe of gold and silver, of rough wood and hewn wood, of everything which comes forth from the Ocean of the Ḥau-nebu, of everything which falls to the account of the palace, in the city called *Ḥnt* as well as a tithe of the gold and silver and everything which is produced in *Pr Mryt* which is called Naucratis, on the bank of the 'Anu, which falls to the account of the Palace, so as to be offerings for my mother Neith for all eternity, in excess of what there was before. There shall be made thereof one ox and, one *r*-goose, wine 5 *mnw* jars, daily, as a daily portion. These tithes shall be collected into the Treasury of My Mother Neith. (For) she is the Mistress of the Oceans and she it is who bestows its produce".[108]

This informs us that a government tax was levied at the rate of 10% on all gold, silver and manufactured goods in Naucratis and that these dues were then to be paid not into Pharaoh's coffers but into the treasury of the goddess Neith, doubtless at Sais. The levying of such a toll and the gift of the proceeds to a temple has a clear parallel in the Ptolemaic Period when the Famine Stele informs us that at the First Cataract the god Chnum of Elephantine received 10% on all trade passing that point.[109]

Social relations between Naucratis and the Egyptian population are virtually a closed book. In the time of Hadrian the city did not have the

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[107] Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke*, 3rd Ed., Hildesheim, 1959, 23b.

[108] Erman & Wilcken, "Die Naukratisstele", *ZÄS* 38 (1900), p. 127 ff.; Gunn, "Notes on the Naukratis Stela", *JEA* 29 (1943), p. 55 ff.; Posener, "Les Douanes de la Méditerranée", *RPh* 21 (1947), p. 117 ff.

[109] Barguet, *La Stèle de la Famine à Séhel*, Cairo, 1953, p. 30. The Nauri Decree of the reign of Seti I also speaks of customs revenues passing into the hands of temples (Griffith, "The Abydos Decree of Seti I at Nauri", *JEA* 13 (1927), p. 193 ff.).

right of *ἐπιγαμία* with the native population but it is well nigh certain that this was not the case in the Sixth Century.[110] It could not have been imposed by Pharaoh and, in view of Greek habits elsewhere,[111] it is most unlikely that it was imposed from within Naucratis itself.

Of other Greek merchant settlements in Egypt between the Seventh Century and Fourth Century B.C. we know little. There are references in Herodotus to what may be Greek traders living in Egyptian cities [112] and there is also a very interesting mention of a place called Neapolis in the Akhmîm area which may well have been an early prototype of the Hellenistic *πολίτευμα*.[113] The *νῆσοι* of Ephesus, Chios, Lesbos, Cyprus, Samos *καὶ ἄλλαι* mentioned by Hecataeus as being *ἐν τῷ Νείλῳ* [114] were presumably trading centres for these states all of which are known to have had commercial interests in the country. The *Μιλησίων τεῖχος* mentioned by Strabo [115] provides an irresistible parallel. Furthermore, the scattered finds of Greek pottery throughout Egypt can also be treated as evidence of Greek commercial dealings at this time.[116] We may, perhaps, imagine a whole series of focal points for trade, often doubtless very small, attracting the desirable commodities of the local Egyptians and then channelling them downstream to Naucratis from which they were despatched to all quarters of the Greek world. II, 5, 1 makes it quite clear that south of the Fayyûm this trade was carried out on Egyptian shipping.[117]

What was the carrot which attracted these Greek merchants? It seems clear that the commodity in which they were particularly interested was corn. From the Seventh Century onwards the rise in population in various

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[110] Vide supra, p. 18 ff.

[111] E.g. there is evidence of Greek intermarriage with natives on some scale at Cyrene (Chamoux, op. cit., p. 129 ff.).

[112] II, 39, 2; 41, 3.

[113] II, 91, 1; Lloyd, "Perseus and Chemmis", *JHS* 89 (1969), p. 79 ff. For *πολιτεύματα* vide *LSJ* p. 1434, b, s.v. *πολίτευμα*, IV, 2; Schubart, *Die Griechen in Ägypten, AO Beiheft* 10 (1927), p. 16 ff.; Bell, *Egypt from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest*, Oxford, 1956, Index, s.v.

[114] *FgrH* I, F. 310 with *Kommentar.*

[115] Vide supra, p. 24.

[116] Lloyd, op. cit., p. 80, n. 9.

[117] Vide n. ad loc.

Greek states increasingly outstripped their capacity for food production and corn had to be obtained from other sources. Grain shipments to Greece are in fact mentioned by Bacchylides [118] and the Scholiast to Aristophanes' *Plutus* (178). One of the commodities exchanged was undoubtedly silver, either in ingots or in coin. It cannot be denied that there is a tendency to exaggerate this factor, or at least go far beyond the evidence available.[119] The corn-for-coin hypothesis certainly will not do for the early period. Naucratis was founded probably in the mid-7th century and was definitely in operation by c. 620. Merchants must have been coming to the country decades before. Yet even at the end of the Seventh Century there is no evidence of silver coinage anywhere in the Greek world.[120] The hoards from Egypt itself,[121] largely from the Delta, do not even occur until the late Sixth Century.[122] These facts do not, however, invalidate the thesis that silver was an important article of trade even in the earliest stages. Indeed, it is corroborated by several considerations :

1. The existence of a bullion trade in ingot form is generally conceded.[123] Silver objects (e.g. jewellery, cups, etc.) would also be welcome.

2. Silver was very difficult to obtain for the Ancient Egyptians who had no native supplies, yet their need for this commodity for religious purposes alone is indicated by the fact that in the first four years of

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[118] F. 20 B (Snell), 14-16.

[119] E.g. Milne, "Trade between Greece and Egypt before Alexander the Great", *JEA* 25 (1939), p. 177 ff.; Sutherland, "Corn and Coin: A Note on Greek Commercial Monopolies", *AJPh* 64 (1943), p. 143 ff. Their excesses are summarily dealt with by Austin (op. cit., p. 37 ff.). More recent and saner views are those of Roebuck ("The Grain Trade between Greece and Egypt," *CPh* 45 (1950), p. 236 ff.) and Salmon (*La Politique Étrangère d'Athènes*, Brussels, 1965, p. 35 ff.).

[120] Kraay, "Hoards, Small Change and the Origin of Coinage", *JHS* 84 (1964), p. 76 ff. Aeginetan silver coinage is the oldest and there is no good reason to date it before the second quarter of the Sixth Century (Kraay & Hirmer, *Greek Coins*, London, 1966, pp. 320, 321).

[121] Index ap Noe, "Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards", *Numismatic Notes and Monographs* 78 (1937), nn. 143-4, 299, 323, 361-2, 365, 411, 673, 722, 729-30, 888, 957, 1082, 1178; Robinson, "The Tell el-Mashkuta Hoard of Athenian Tetradrachms", *Numismatic Chronicle* 7 (1947), p. 115 ff.

[122] Kraay, op. cit., p. 76 ff.; Austin, op. cit., p. 37 ff.

[123] Cf. Kraay, op. cit., p. 88.

Osorkon I a total of no less than 500,000 lbs. of silver was offered to the temples.[124]

3. The coin hoards, when they begin, are clearly not intended as a source of currency; for the Egyptians did not have a money-economy until Hellenistic times. They were intended as a source of bullion to be melted down and used as raw material by Egyptian silver smiths.

4. What else could have induced the Egyptians to enter into large scale trading relations with the Greeks but the ready access of the latter to large supplies of silver?

The Egyptians, then, certainly obtained silver from the Greeks in the late Sixth Century in coin form. They had the need and opportunity to obtain it in a variety of forms at earlier periods and we must recognize the distinct possibility that even as early as the Seventh Century they did just that.

Other items of trade are quickly dealt with. An important Egyptian export at this time was faience. Large numbers of genuine Egyptian objects made of this material are found throughout the Greek World—the Black Sea, the mainland of Greece and Magna Graecia being particularly rich in finds. Objects include pilgrim flasks, aryballoi, scarabs, statuettes of gods etc. Some shapes were specifically designed for the Greek market e.g. a man playing the double-flute or the lyre and radical modifications of the scarab form. One faience fragment from Naucratis even bore a Greek inscription applied before firing. There were factories producing the material at Naucratis and Memphis. In these cases we cannot say for certain whether production was in the hands of Egyptians or Greeks. There is, however, little doubt that the large numbers of faience objects discovered on Rhodes, generally in the Necropolis and Sacred Plain of Cameiros and dating c. VII-VIth Century, were imitations of Egyptian work being produced by Greeks for the Greek market.[125] It is possible that linen, papyrus and ivory were also exported from Egypt in the Archaic

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[124] *BAR* IV, § 729.

[125] On faience at this period vide v. Prinz, *Funde aus Naucratis. Klio Beihefte* 7 (1908), p. 99 ff.; Pendlebury, *Aegyptiaca*, pp. XIX, 5; v. Bissing, *Zeit und Herkunft der in Cerveteri gefundenen Gefäße aus ägyptischer Fayence und glasiertem Ton. SBAW* 1941, II, 7; Boardman, op. cit., p. 143 ff.; Morenz, *Die Begegnung*, p. 69 ff.

Period but the evidence is very slight.[126] Certain it is, however, that in the heyday of the Athenian Empire the Piraeus saw the importation of linen and papyrus on some scale to satisfy the voracious demands of the Athenian fleet for sails and rigging whilst ivory may also have been an item of trade at the same period.[127] That wine was imported into Egypt is certain. Charaxus, the brother of Sappho, was trading in this commodity at Naucratis during the early Sixth Century B.C.[128] whilst in the latter part of the same century and in Herodotus' own time large quantities were imported, no doubt in part for Greek consumption but also, to judge from the implications of III, 6, 2, for Egyptians as well.[129]

3. *Naval Experts*

The belief that Greek naval experts assisted the Egyptians in building up a fleet is based on a single passage of Herodotus.

> *παυσάμενος δὲ τῆς διώρυχος ὁ Νεκὼς ἐτράπετο πρὸς στρατηίας καὶ τριήρεες αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ βορηίῃ θαλάσσῃ ἐποιήθησαν, αἱ δ'ἐν τῷ Ἀραβίῳ κόλπῳ*[130] *ἐπὶ τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ θαλάσσῃ,*[131] *τῶν ἔτι οἱ ὁλκοί εἰσι δῆλοι. καὶ ταύτῃσί τε ἐχρᾶτο ἐν τῷ δέοντι ...*[132]

This statement leaves much unsaid and has, in consequence, given rise to a great deal of argument. It has generally been understood to mean that triremes were built by the Greeks for Necho (610-595 B.C.) and taken to imply that they played a rôle of some importance in naval matters.[133] This interpretation has not, however, been universally accepted. Some have denied that the Greek trireme was invented early enough to be employed by Necho.[134] Others have claimed that Herodotus

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[126] Salmon, op. cit., p. 28 ff.; Austin, op. cit., p. 36.

[127] Salmon, op. cit., p. 221 ff.

[128] H., II, 135; Str., XVII, I, 33 (C 808); Athenaeus, XIII, 69.

[129] III, 6-7. For wine and the Egyptians vide n. II, 77, 4.

[130] *Ἀράβιος κόλπος* is used by H. when he wishes to identify precisely what we call the Red Sea (vide n. II, 8, 1).

[131] The Erythraean or Southern Ocean (vide n. l.c.).

[132] II, 159, 1.

[133] E.g. Drioton & Vandier, *L'Égypte*, 4th. Ed., Paris, 1962, p. 582 ff.

[134] Davison, "The First Greek Triremes", *CQ* 41 (1947), p. 18 ff.; Basch, "Phoenician Oared Ships", *The Mariner's Mirror* 55 (1969), p. 231.

is using the word anachronistically to refer to a native Egyptian fleet constructed as a support for Necho's Asiatic campaigns.[135] Yet others insist that the triremes were not Greek at all but Phoenician in origin.[136]

Of these opinions the second can be immediately discounted. In Egyptian texts from the Saite Period we find references to ships called *kbnwt* which are beyond all reasonable doubt war-galleys built for ramming of a totally un-Egyptian type.[137] The questions at issue are, therefore, whether these ships were triremes and whether they were Greek or Phoenician. There is, in fact, a great deal of evidence which suggests that the traditional view is much the more likely.

In the first place, doubts about the existence of the Greek trireme in Necho's reign are almost certainly unfounded. Thucydides writes

> πρῶτοι δὲ Κορίνθιοι λέγονται ἐγγύτατα τοῦ νῦν τρόπου μεταχειρίσαι τὰ περὶ τὰς ναῦς, καὶ τριήρεις ἐν Κορίνθῳ πρῶτον τῆς Ἑλλάδος ναυπηγηθῆναι. φαίνεται δὲ καὶ Σαμίοις Ἀμεινοκλῆς Κορίνθιος ναυπηγὸς ναῦς ποιήσας τέσσαρας · ἔτη δ' ἐστὶ μάλιστα τριακόσια ἐς τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ὅτε Ἀμεινοκλῆς Σαμίοις ἦλθεν. ναυμαχία τε παλαιτάτη ὧν ἴσμεν γίγνεται Κορινθίων πρὸς Κερκυραίους. ἔτη δὲ μάλιστα καὶ ταύτῃ ἑξήκοντα καὶ διακόσιά ἐστι μέχρι τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου.
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> I, 13, 2-4

Controversy has raged for years over the implications of this passage, essentially because of the chronological difficulties which it poses. Can we credit the statement that triremes were invented at Corinth [138] as early as this when the first literary reference does not occur until a century later? [139] How do we explain the inconsistency whereby Thucydi-

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[135] De Meulenaere, op. cit., p. 60 with n. 49; cf. Gyles, op. cit., p. 85 ff.; Austin, op. cit., p. 55.

[136] Basch, op. cit., p. 230 ff.; cf. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*, Princeton, New Jersey, 1971, p. 81, n. 19; Harden, *The Phoenicians*, Harmondsworth, 1971, pp. 115, 159 ff.

[137] Lloyd, "Triremes and the Saite Navy", *JEA* 58 (1972), p. 268 ff.

[138] It has often been claimed (Torr, *Ancient Ships*, Chicago, 1964, p. 4, n. 8; Basch, op. cit., p. 232; Casson, op. cit., p. 81, n. 17) that the phrase ἐν Κορίνθῳ πρῶτον τῆς Ἑλλάδος is meant, in Torr's words, "to save the priority of the Phoenicians". It does nothing of the sort. Thucydides is a highly Graeco-centric historian and to him such an expression is simply equivalent to πρῶτον.

[139] Hipponax, F. 45 (Diehl).

des can regard the trireme as having been introduced in the time of the tyrants while giving a date (c. 700 B.C.) which falls considerably before the beginning of the Cypselid Tyranny as given by the ancient chronographers?[140] The first step in dealing with these problems is to grasp the origin of Thucydides' chronological data at this point. There can be no reasonable doubt that the figures *ἔτη ... μάλιστα τριακόσια ἐς τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου* and *ἔτη μάλιστα ... ἑξήκοντα καὶ διακόσιά ... μέχρι τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου* are based on genealogical chronology and arise from a tradition that the trireme was invented at Corinth and Ameinocles went to Samos $7^1/_2$ generations before the Peloponnesian War while the great sea battle took place a generation later. Thucydides, or his source, has then converted these figures at the rate of 40 years to 1 *γενεά*. Now if we convert these figures at the rate of 3 *γενεαί* to 100 years, the Herodotean scheme and the one which best suits ancient Greek conditions, we arrive at an approximate date for the invention of the trireme which removes the internal chronological inconsistency ($2^1/_2 \times 100 + 404$ years = c. 654 B.C.)[141]

Our confidence in this result—and of the value of Thucydides' tradition in general—is strengthened by four considerations. First, the claim that Ameinocles went to Samos to build triremes is confirmed by the similarities between Corinthian and Samian ships during the Archaic Period.[142] Secondly, Nicolaus of Damascus actually says that Periander built triremes and *ἀμφοτέραις ἐχρῆτο ταῖς θαλάτταις* i.e. the Corinthian Gulf westwards and the Saronic Gulf eastwards.[143] Thirdly, a fragment of a terracotta ship model from Corinth probably dating to the late Seventh Century bears an applied strip along the gunwale which could indicate a *παρεξειρεσία* "outrigger", the crucial step in the evolution of the trireme.[144] Fourth, we know that Periander pursued an aggressive

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[140] 657 B.C. according to the Traditional or Apollodoran Chronology (Lloyd, op. cit., p. 277, n. 4).

[141] See further Lloyd, op. cit., p. 276 ff. On genealogical chronology in general vide infra Ch. V passim.

[142] Morrison & Williams, *Greek Oared Ships*, Cambridge, 1968, p. 112.

[143] *FgrH* 90, F. 58.

[144] Stillwell, *Corinth XV. ii. The Potters' Quarter. The Terracottas*, Princeton, New Jersey, 1952, p. 195 ff.

foreign policy in which a fleet containing this powerful new type would have been an invaluable asset.[145] In the face of such evidence we have strong justification in claiming that Greek triremes did exist by Necho's time. They were there for him to take. Is there any reason why we should think he did so? There are, in fact, several.

First of all, the simple fact that Ionian mercenaries had played a dominant part in the Saite army from the beginning of the reign of Psammetichus I [146] made the step an easy and natural one. Furthermore, it should be noted that both the single level ramming warship and the bireme were invented in Greece and then slowly spread to the east. The Thucydidean tradition that Ameinocles visited Samos to build triremes there suggests that this pattern was repeating itself with trireme as early as the Seventh Century.[147] Indeed, when we consider the pattern of Greek activities in Egypt during the Saite Period this impression immediately becomes considerably more than a possibility.

It is already clear from the foregoing discussion that the two Greek states which figure most prominently in the *Urgeschichte* of the trireme were Corinth and Samos. Both of these states had close relations with Egypt during the Saite Period. Corinthian pottery figures prominently at Naucratis from the late Seventh Century onwards and, much more important, there are good reasons for believing that close political ties existed between Periander, who almost certainly used triremes, and Necho, who, according to Herodotus, also employed them.[148] As for Samos, her commercial relations with Egypt were very close indeed. She was, in fact, one of the three states which participated in the earliest history of Naucratis and played a rôle of great importance there for decades.[149] Both Corinth and Samos were, therefore, excellently placed for passing on information on the new type which, as we have previously indicated, was already beginning to filter eastwards.

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[145] See further Lloyd, "Triremes," op. cit., p. 278; "Were Necho's Triremes Phoenician?" *JHS* 95 (1975) (forthcoming).

[146] Vide supra, p. 14 ff.

[147] id., "Were Necho's Triremes Phoenician?" op. cit. It is true that Th. uses the word *ναῦς* rather than *τριήρεις* when speaking of Ameinocles but the run of the Greek surely establishes that he *means* *τριήρεις* (Lloyd, "Triremes", p. 277).

[148] id., "Were Necho's Triremes Phoenician?" op. cit.

[149] Vide supra, pp. 24, 26; n. II, 178, 3.

A further point to remember is the fact that in order to build up a viable fleet of triremes foreign aid on a large scale would have been necessary both for building the ships themselves and for training and manning them.[150] Ten miles or so away from the capital city of Sais lay the great ἐμπόριον of Naucratis [151] teeming with Greek mariners and undoubtedly well equipped with dock-yard facilities. Here and in the other Greek settlements in the country [152] Necho could have obtained with the minimum of trouble all the foreign expertise he needed.

Finally it is clear that the Στρατόπεδα set up by Psammetichus I for his Carian and Ionian mercenaries and abandoned after the defeat of Apries c. 570 B.C. (II, 154, 1-5) were naval as well as military bases since Herodotus saw there ruins which included ὁλκοὶ τῶν νέων "slipways for their ships" and ὁλκοί are only used for warships. These were almost certainly foreign since they can hardly be anything but the *kbnt*-ships mentioned in the Apries Stele (n. II, 161). That they were Greek we could reasonably expect from the context but such suspicions are considerably strengthened by a Carian Stele from Saqqara dating from the late Saite or early Persian Period which displays two crudely drawn war galleys of a distinctly Greek appearance.[153] We have, therefore, what are probably Greek galleys associated with a Carian on a monument of the last quarter of the Sixth Century. We have Carian and Ionian mercenaries stationed in camps which function as naval bases at least in the reign of Apries and we have these troops mentioned in connection with *kbnt*-ships in the same reign. All this provides strong evidence that Greek triremes were an element of the Egyptian fleet from the time of Apries at least and creates a strong presumption that the same was true in the time of Necho.

There are, then, good reasons for believing that Necho's fleet did employ triremes of Greek origin. What is there to be said in favour of a Phoenician provenance? This thesis was argued some years ago by M. Lucien Basch [154] and rested on the most fragile of evidence.[155]

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[150] See further Lloyd, op. cit.

[151] Vide supra, p. 24 ff.

[152] Vide supra, p. 29 ff.

[153] Lloyd, op. cit.

[154] Vide supra, p. 32, n. 134.

[155] Lloyd, op. cit., passim.

There is, in fact, no proof whatsoever of the existence of Phoenician triremes as early as the reign of Necho and although we know that Phoenicians were to be found in Egypt during the Saite Period in various capacities, their importance pales into insignificance beside that of the Greeks.[156] In short, there is at present virtually nothing to recommend the Phoenician hypothesis.

It is not difficult to elucidate the motive behind these naval innovations; for the entire defensive and offensive strategy of Necho imperatively demanded the best fleet which he could possibly muster. Past experience and the hard headed *Realpolitik* which characterized all Saite actions must have made it clear that, sooner or later, attacks on Egypt from the north by powerful Asiatic states were certain and that any such offensive would inevitably be supported by the Phoenician fleet. An antidote to the latter was needed and, as we have already seen, that antidote was available in the form of Greek triremes. On the other hand Necho's ambitions to resuscitate past glories in Asia as well as to check Chaldaean expansion meant the occupation of Syria-Palestine including the Phoenician coastal cities. To achieve these aims and maintain conquered territory an answer to the Phoenician fleet was equally obligatory. Indeed, that this is the context in which the naval activities of Necho should be seen is indicated both by Herodotus' chronology of Necho's reign (the sequence of events ap II, 158-9 runs accession—attempted excavation of the Red Sea Canal—interest in στρατηίαι—construction of triremes—invasion of Syria-Palestine) and by the fact that Necho bothered to construct war galleys at all; for if the Phoenicians were not the problem which the Egyptians had in mind, why should they have bothered to construct a fleet of such sophisticated warships? There was, after all, no one else to fight.[157]

To conclude. The truth of the matter is that the current of available evidence runs strongly and insistently in favour of the traditional view that Necho's triremes were Greek. It may be suggested that Greek naval

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[156] Leclant, "Les relations entre l'Égypte et la Phénicie du voyage d'Ounamon à l'expédition d'Alexandre", ap W.A. Ward (Ed.), *The Role of the Phoenicians in the Interaction of Mediterranean Civilizations. Papers Presented to the Archaeological Symposium at the American University of Beirut, March* 1967, Beirut,1968, p. 16 ff.

[157] Lloyd, "Triremes", p. 269 ff.; id., "Were Necho's Triremes Phoenician?" op. cit.

activities in Egypt were probably connected with close political relations between Cypselid Corinth and the Saite Dynasty. The threat of the Phoenician fleet with its sophisticated ramming war-galleys could not be countered by native Egyptian ships and, with a realism typical of his house, Necho acquired the latest and most powerful type of galley from his Greek friends when it was already beginning to spread into eastern waters. Perhaps we should not be far wide of the mark in imagining one or several Ameinocles packing their bags and betaking themselves to Pharaoh, either under orders from their own rulers or induced by the rich pickings which service in Egypt almost invariably provided to the enterprising.

4. *Allies*

Greeks appear in the rôle of allies of Egypt as early as the second half of the Sixth Century when Amasis was trying desperately to build up a solid body of opposition to the growing power of Persia [158] but Greek allies, as distinct from mercenaries, are not to be identified operating in Egypt itself until the Fifth Century B.C. Since we are only concerned with events down to the time of Herodotus we need only discuss, in this context, the involvement of the Athenians in the revolts of Inarus and Amyrtaeus.

The Revolt of Inarus and the Athenian Expedition

Because of the inadequacy of our source material for the Athenian Expedition to Egypt [159] we must divide our discussion into two sections :

1. Chronology
2. History

1. *Chronology*

On this vexed question we have the following evidence :

[158] Vide n. II, 1.

[159] Conveniently collected in Hill (rev. Meiggs-Andrewes), *Sources for Greek History*, Oxford, 1966, p. 343.

1. The chronology of Diodorus (XI, 71, 3-6; 74-5; 77, 1-5) which runs as follows :

463/2 Beginning of the Revolt of Inarus as a result of disturbances at the accession of Artaxerxes.
462/1 The expedition of Achaemenes and arrival of the Athenians. Mission to Sparta.
460/59 The Persians move against the allies, relieve Memphis, shut them up in the Prosopite Island and force them to surrender.

The dates of Diodorus are always suspect [160] and this scheme is, in fact. unworkable in the form presented :

(a) It is contradicted by XII, 3 where the Athenians are said to have lost their ships a short time before 450/449.
(b) It reduces the Athenian expedition to half the length given by Thucydides (vide infra).
(c) The siege of Prosopis could not have lasted a year on this scheme much less the 18 months allowed by Thucydides.

Clearly the latter part of the scheme at least has gone very badly awry but this should not lead us to complete scepticism.[161] The chronology may in many respects be wrong but the narrative, which derives substantially from Ephorus, is likely to contain much of value. If we try to isolate the grains of truth and see whether they provide material which can be used to construct a chronology, one fix at least emerges.

The association of the beginning of the revolt with the accession of Artaxerxes (some time in 465-4) [162] made both by Diodorus and Ctesias [163] is highly likely in view of the widespread unrest at that time in the Persian Empire and the extreme unpopularity of Xerxes. Indeed, the rebellion

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[160] Gomme, *Commentary on Thucydides*, Oxford, 1966, I, p. 51 ff.

[161] Scharf, "Die erste ägyptische Expedition der Athener", *Historia* 3 (1955), p. 308 ff.

[162] D.S., XI, 69 gives the date as 465/4. In oriental sources the last recorded date of Xerxes is August 465 whilst the first recorded year of Artaxerxes is 464 (Parker & Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology 626 B.C. - A.D. 75 Brown University Studies XIX*, Providence, 1956, p. 17).

[163] *FgrH* 688, F. 14.

could well have been sparked off by the withdrawal of troops from Egypt to deal with the serious situation in Bactria.[164] Therefore, however inaccurate other dates may be, it is likely enough that Inarus did take up arms in 463/2.

2. According to Thucydides the conflict lasted ἓξ ἔτη (I, 110, 1). Whether he means archon years or astronomical years it is impossible to say.[165]

3. Events in Thucydides' account of the Pentacontaetia are discussed, as far as possible, in chronological order.[166] This often does not help us much in view of the almost complete absence of accurate dates for this period but one fact we do have. The expedition of Tolmides round the Peloponnese is mentioned immediately before the discussion of the attack by Megabyzus. Tolmides' campaign took place in 456/5 (Schol. Aeschin., II, 75) [167] and we must, therefore, assume that there is some chronological relationship. In view of Thucydides' method the events might be synchronous or connected in a linear sequence but the opening sentence of I, 109, 1 suggests strongly that the events of the chapter were going on at the same time as matter discussed in the chapter or even chapters immediately preceding.

4. It was claimed by Pericles that the treasury of the Athenian Alliance had to be removed from Delos to Athens as a result of the threat of attack from non-Greek enemies.[168] Since this could only mean the Persian fleet, the Persians must have had temporary control of the Eastern Mediterranean and that in turn implies the destruction of all Athenian naval forces in the area i.e. the Egyptian adventure must have come to an end. Now the treasury was transferred at the latest in 454; for the Attic Tribute

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[164] l.c.

[165] On this question vide Gomme, op. cit., p. 392 ff.

[166] ib., p. 391 ff.

[167] Hill (rev. Meiggs-Andrewes), op. cit., p. 4.

[168] Plu., *Per* 12, 1 ff. The fact that the Samians proposed the motion (id., *Arist* 25, 3) does not mean that the idea was theirs. Justin's assertion (III, 6, 4) that it was the result of Spartan treatment of Athens during the Third Messenian War and the fear of a Peloponnesian raid is obviously wrong.

Lists show that the φόρος was being delivered to Athens in 454/3 at the latest and quite possibly in the previous archon year.[169] Therefore, the Egyptian Expedition had ended by 454 B.C.

5. According to the Erechtheid Casualty List [170] an Egyptian campaign which must be the beginning of the Revolt of Inarus took place in the same year as campaigns in Cyprus, Phoenicia, Halieis, Aegina and Megara. For the first two we have no external chronological information. On Halieis Thucydides (I, 105) informs us that the campaign took place after the Athenians went to Egypt while Diodorus (XI, 78, 1-2) dates it to the Archonship of Philocles (459-8). Aegina was attacked after Halieis (Th., I, 105) in the same Archonship (D.S., XI, 78, 3-4). The Megarian affair took place after the Aeginetan campaign (Th., I, 105-6) and is dated by Diodorus to the Archonship of Bion (*sic*! read Habron) i.e. 458-7.

This then is our evidence and it must be immediately clear that it is far from ideal for building up a firm chronological picture. The Casualty List provides the surest guide and we shall begin with that. Here the problem is to pin down one of the events in question and that means, in effect, distilling the truth out of Diodorus' tradition about them, if truth it contains.

Clearly, the fact that he gives two different dates for Halieis and Megara contradicts the inscription. Since the latter has infinitely greater authority, one or both of Diodorus' statements must be incorrect. Of the two the second is suspect since the author has got the name wrong. Let us then assume, for sake of argument, that this date is erroneous and the other correct. That would consign all of these events to the Archon Year 459-8 B.C. According to Thucydides (*datum* 2) the expedition lasted 6 years. If we tabulate this information, the picture we get is as follows, depending on whether we use Archon or Calendar Years :

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[169] Meritt, Wade-Gery & McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, Cambridge, Mass., 1939, I, p. 128, IV; Meiggs & Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, Oxford, 1969, 39, p. 83 ff. Salmon (op. cit., p. 106 ff) tries to fix the end of the Athenian Expedition by calculating back from the date of the end of the Five Years' Truce. This is by no means infallible but is rendered superfluous by the evidence of the Tribute Lists.

[170] Meiggs & Lewis, op. cit., p. 73, 33.

	Archon Years	Calendar Years
1	459-8	459
2	458-7	458
3	457-6	457
4	456-5	456
5	455-4	455
6	454-3	454

Both of these schemes fit perfectly with evidence of the Tribute Lists that the campaign was over in 454 B.C. and both are compatible with the other data discussed above. *Datum* 1 gives 463/2 as the probable date of the outbreak of the revolt. Obtaining allies would certainly have been an immediate concern but might well have taken some time. The Athenians may conceivably have chosen to wait until Inarus showed some signs of winning before getting involved. Therefore, a delay of some years until the arrival of Athenian forces in 459/8 is perfectly feasible. Furthermore, the synchronism of Tolmides' campaign and Megabazus' assault (*Datum* 3), falls very neatly into the proposed scheme (vide infra). By combining these chronological guidelines with the annalistic record of Diodorus it is possible to suggest the following *tentative* reconstruction of the course of events :

459/8. The Athenians arrive. Battle of Papremis.

c. 458/7. Mission of Megabazus to Sparta which must, in planning and execution, have taken a considerable time. Artabazus and Megabyzus arrive. A year is spent in training, probably this one, while the Athenians besiege Memphis.

c. 457/6. The Persians move against the allies.

c. 456/5. $1^1/_2$ years spent in besieging Prosopis.

c. 455/4. Athenian reinforcements arrive and are wiped out, probably in 455 if we accept Thucydides' correlation with the expedition of Tolmides.

c. 454/3. The treasury is transferred from Delos and the first payment of φόρος is made at Athens.

This chronology violates no known fact and seems workable. It is, however, based to a considerable extent on empirical methods and

premises which often owe much more to supposition than hard fact and whether it is correct or not we shall never be able to say unless new evidence is forthcoming.[171] The only scientific course is to regard all these dates—indeed nearly all dates in the Pentacontaetia—as *circa* only. Dating on any other terms is sheer self delusion—and if any proof of that were needed it might be pointed out that Salmon mentions no fewer than 12 different schemes for the affair only two of which are absolutely impossible.[172]

2. *History of the Rebellion*

In 463/2 B.C. Egypt burst into revolt against the Great King as part of a general series of disturbances throughout the Persian Empire at the accession of Artaxerxes I in 465-4. It was led by a Libyan king called Inarus, son of Psammetichus,[173] and an unknown Egyptian [174] using as their base of operations the town of Mareia, south of the modern city of Alexandria.[175] Here it was, doubtless, that they collected together a polyglot army of natives and, true to Egyptian tradition, foreign mercenaries which were needed for successful operations against the Persian forces.

To begin with they encountered no serious opposition. Such Persian garrisons as existed were probably too small and too scattered to provide any obstacle, doubtless having been run down in the face of demands from the eastern empire especially since the satrapy of Egypt had been

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[171] This scheme is similar to that of Meritt, Wade-Gery & McGregor (op. cit., p. 177 ff.) and Meiggs ("The Crisis of Athenian Imperialism", *HSPh* 67 (1963), p. 1 ff.; id., *The Athenian Empire*, Oxford, 1972, p. 92 ff.). For other opinions vide Salmon, op. cit., p. 99 ff.

[172] Nos. XI and XII.

[173] The father's name suggested to Gomme (op. cit., p. 305 ff.) that Inarus was probably Egyptian and descended from the Saite royal house of Egypt. The name "Psammetichus" is, however, common in the Late Period—it is found even in Greece. It could have been taken over by Libyans and consequently cannot be used as an index even of probable ethnic or genealogical connections.

[174] Possibly Amyrtaeus (Salmon, op. cit., p. 94) but there is no evidence that he came from Sais as Salmon thinks and he may just as easily have been a Libyan.

[175] Vide n. II, 18, 2.

relatively peaceful for twenty years.[176] The western Delta immediately abutting on Libya will quickly have fallen to their arms, probably much more besides,[177] and in the full flush of success Inarus applied to Athens for assistance which was quickly voted, all the more readily since it fitted in admirably with the contemporary Athenian policy of prosecuting the Persian War by carrying it into the Great King's own camp. Indeed, we can be sure that this consideration was very much in the forefront of the rebels' minds when they started the uprising, especially if we remember that Athenian battle fleets were a common sight during the late 460's in the eastern Mediterranean. At all events a fleet of 200 ships, originally sent for operations against Cyprus and under the command of the navarch Charitimides, was diverted to Egypt.[178]

To deal with the growing Egyptian uprising a large military and naval force was despatched c. 459/8 under the command of Achaemenes,[179] son of Darius and uncle of Artaxerxes, and comprising 400,000 troops and 80 ships. Presumably the strategic scheme was to use the fleet and army in the same way as in the invasion of Greece in 481; for not only does Diodorus inform us that in the invasion of Megabyzus *συμπαρα-*

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[176] Egypt had revolted in 487/6 probably at the military exactions of Darius designed to make up for the disaster at Marathon and was brought to heel in 485 (Munro, *CAH* Cambridge, 1939, IV, p. 268; Kienitz, op. cit., p. 67 ff.; Posener, *La Première Domination Perse en Egypte*, Cairo, 1936, p. 190; Salmon, op. cit., p. 75 ff.).

[177] Thucydides (I, 104) informs us that before the Athenians became involved in Egypt *Ἰνάρως ... ἀπέστησεν Αἰγύπτου τὰ πλείω ἀπὸ βασιλέως Ἀρταξέρξου.* Gomme remarks "... only of lower Egypt. So long as Memphis was held by the Persians, upper Egypt was not able, even if willing, to send effective help to those in the Delta" (op. cit., p. 306). This is not pertinent. They could still declare for Inarus even if it were impossible to assist materially but, in any case, we do not know what the situation at Memphis was like at this juncture. The rebels may have been strong enough in the area to facilitate the passage of sympathizers to the north until the arrival of Achaemenes which must temporarily have brought the area under absolute Persian control. The attempt of Salmon (op. cit., p. 95 ff.) to prove that Upper Egypt remained loyal is based only on an inscription of a Persian official found in the Wadi Hammamat and dated to the fifth year of Artaxerxes I (462/1) (Posener, op. cit., p. 125, n. 31). This is not much but even if it *were* evidence of Persian control of the area it would only be valid for the period *at the very beginning of the revolt.*

[178] Ctesias (op. cit.) gives the number as 40 but his authority is small beside that of Thucydides. The figure 300 of D.S. XI, 71 is equally unacceptable for the same reason.

[179] Achaemenides in Ctesias (l.c.).

πλέοντος δὲ καὶ τοῦ στόλου τῇ πεζῇ στρατιᾷ κατήντησαν (sc. οἱ τῶν Περσῶν στρατηγοί) εἰς Μέμφιν τῆς Αἰγύπτου but the difficulty of co-ordinating the movements of the two forces over any great distance would presumably have made any other scheme impossible. The army would travel, in part at least, along the bank of the Nile and the fleet would protect its flank, keep it supplied and, if necessary, outflank any opposition by land to take it in the rear. The army was met by Inarus at Papremis [180] which almost certainly lay in the 7th Lower Egyptian Nome to the west of the Canopic Branch in the vicinity of the modern Damanhur [181] where it was crushingly defeated with the loss of its commander and 100,000 men. At the same time the Persian fleet was engaged on the Nile [182] by Charitimides and lost 50 ships. Having sustained these severe reverses the Persians then withdrew to Memphis where they were promptly laid under siege for a year by the Athenians.

The allied successes probably gave them command of much of the Delta, all of Upper Egypt and certainly all of Memphis with the exception of the citadel in the northern part of the city [183] which was occupied by Medes, Persians and such Egyptians as had committed themselves irrevocably to the Persian cause.

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[180] D.S. (XI, 74, 3) states that Athenian troops were in action at Papremis and were responsible for the Persian defeat. This looks like a mistake; for he does not mention the naval battle won by Charitimides, in fact mentions no Persian fleet at all. Probably he has confused the two, all the more readily since he clearly goes out of his way in his account to glorify the Athenians (so also Momigliano, "La Spedizione Ateniese in Egitto", *Aegyptus* 10 (1929), p. 190 ff.; Argentati, "La Spedizione in Egitto", *Acme* 6 (3) (1953), p. 379 ff.; Salmon, op. cit., p. 124) and exonerate them from responsibility for the ultimate defeat e.g. the Athenians were defeated at Memphis because they were caught by surprise (77) and the Persians were unwilling to fight but came to terms (l.c.). Confusion there certainly is in his picture of events (cf. the contradictory chronology of XI, 77 and XII, 3). Ctesias (op. cit.) clearly distinguishes between a victory by Αἰγύπτιοι and a victory κατὰ θάλασσαν (sic!) won by the Athenian allies. Salmon (op. cit., p. 146 ff.) considers that the Athenians did fight at Papremis—for no good reason.

[181] Vide n. II, 59, 3.

[182] The double pronged nature of the Persian attacks makes it certain that his action was not fought in the open sea. The drift of Thucydides' narrative ap I, 104, 2 tends in the same direction.

[183] For the topography of Memphis vide n. II, 99.

For a year major actions do not appear to have taken place though the minor operations—raids and counter-raids—which are typical of such periods of stalemate in all wars [184] will have caused casualties on both sides. This situation was not, however, destined to last indefinitely. The lull was used by the Persians to prepare a crushing blow against the allies; for c. 458/7 an expedition was despatched to Egypt under the command of Artabazus and Megabyzus [185] consisting of 200,000 men and a veritable armada of 300 ships. After a year spent in training this force moved against Inarus up the Pelusiac Branch and raised the siege of Memphis after a fierce action by land and sea in which Inarus was wounded. The Libyan king and over 6000 of his Athenian allies fled to the Island of Prosopis which lay just north of Memphis at the apex of the Delta and offered an excellent defensive position surrounded on all sides by water.[186] Here they were besieged for $1^1/_2$ years until the Persian commander (c. 456/5) had the idea of draining the canal to the north, thereby stranding the Athenian fleet, which had doubtless contributed considerably to Athenian success in withstanding the siege, and also offering the possibility of passing over a vastly superior Persian force to reduce the position. It is most unlikely that an immediate surrender took place. Thucydides, much the best available source, informs us that the vast majority of the Athenians were killed, only a very few escaping home *via* Cyrene. This information alone allows us to recreate the picture. The Persian storm troops advanced across the dry canal and in the bitter hand-to-hand fighting which ensued some Athenians cut their way through the enemies' ranks and got clean away leaving their less fortunate comrades to fight to the last. That some eventually surrendered is likely; for Ctesias informs us that when Inarus was eventually executed 50 Greeks were also decapitated.[187]

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[184] *Οἱ δ'ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐπέμενον, καὶ αὐτοῖς πολλαὶ ἰδέαι πολέμων κατέστησαν* (Th., I, 109, 1) with Gomme's excellent note ad. loc.

[185] So Th. (I, 109, 3) and Ctesias (op. cit.). Herodotus gives the name as Megabyxus (III, 160).

[186] For the site vide n. II, 41, 4. It is called *Βύβλος* by Ctesias (l.c.).

[187] Salmon accepts the version of D.S. and Ctesias according to which the Athenians surrendered after inspiring such fear in the Persian commanders that they did not venture to attack them (op. cit., p. 173 ff.; cf. Meiggs, *The Athenian Empire*, p. 103 ff.). Thucydides surely implies that most of the Athenians at Prosopis were

Prosopis was not the end of the disasters to befall the ill-starred Athenian involvement in Egypt. A fleet of 50 triremes bringing reinforcements,[188] probably in 455/4, and ignorant of the catastrophe that had already occurred was surprised and cut to shreds at the Mendesian Horn by a force of troops attacking by land and a Phoenician fleet moving against them from the sea.

The Revolt of Amyrtaeus

The defeat and capture of Inarus was by no means the end of the Egyptian revolt. Although the province was largely subdued [189] and placed once more under a Persian satrap, resistance continued in the marsh area of the extreme northern Delta.[190] It was headed by a certain Amyrtaeus called by Thucydides ὁ ἐν τοῖς ἕλεσι βασιλεύς who enjoyed two considerable advantages in the form of τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ ἕλους and the martial qualities of its inhabitants.[191] He appears to have been highly successful. Herodotus speaks of him in the same breath as Inarus [192] and even after the earlier disaster he was able to extract assistance from the Athenians.

The Athenian involvement with Amyrtaeus occurred, as far as we can tell, when the fleet of Cimon was operating against Cyprus [193] in the

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killed in action. The version of the later writers is yet another example of adapting the tale *ad maiorem Graecorum gloriam* and the present writer feels unable to accept it. To say, as does Salmon "Le bref récit de Thucydide, s'il n'y fait pas allusion, ne contredit pas la version de Ctésias et de Diodore" is a flagrant violation of the facts. The two most accomplished liars of antiquity have no authority against Thucydides.

[188] Th., I, 110, 4.

[189] Libya was eventually restored to the family of Inarus and his son Thannyras established as its ruler (H., III, 15, 3). This would not be done immediately, however (so also Salmon, op. cit., p. 190). Doubtless the Persians only took this action when the province was thoroughly pacified.

[190] For the topography vide nn. II, 92, 1; 93, 1.

[191] Th., I, 110, 2.

[192] III, 15.

[193] Plutarch (*Cim* 18-19, 2) suggests that the Egyptian expedition was intended at the very beginning of Cimon's eastern adventure but Th.'s narrative is against this (I, 112, 3) in that it suggests a direct appeal to Cimon at Citium. Further, we may wonder whether even the Athenian assembly would have been prepared to get its

same year as the conclusion of the Five Years' Truce [194] (451/0 or 450/49).[195] Amyrtaeus asked for assistance and 60 warships of this fleet of 200 were despatched south. What they did in Egypt we do not know. Thucydides makes it quite clear that they were back with the main fleet when it withdrew from Cypriot waters and that event is obviously connected with the signing of the Peace of Callias in 449/8 B.C.[196] Plutarch tells us that Cimon first sent off a squadron to Egypt, and, with the rest of the force, defeated a Persian fleet consisting of Phoenician and Cilician ships. He then *ἀνεκτᾶτό τε τὰς ἐν κύκλῳ πόλεις καὶ τοῖς περὶ Αἴγυπτον ἐφήδρευεν*.[197] This is certainly garbled; for Cimon was dead by the time this fleet action was fought [198] and there is no hint in Thucydides that the main force ever moved far enough south to threaten *τὰ περὶ Αἴγυπτον*. It seems more likely that the clause *καὶ τοῖς περὶ Αἴγυπτον ἐφήδρευεν* reflects a tradition on the activities of the 60 ships sent to Egypt and that they spent their time cruising off the Delta coast looking for opportunities to attack.[199] It may well be that the commander had express instructions not to get embroiled but simply to give the Egyptian rebels some moral support by his presence in the area. Such a rôle would fit very well the clear impression created by Thucydides that the squadron was intact when it rejoined the main battle fleet.[200]

Their return, of course, need have nothing to do with any dramatic

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fingers burned a second time (cf., however, Cloché ("La Politique Extérieure d'Athènes de 454-453 à 446-445 avant J.-C.", *LEC* 14 (1946), p. 9) and Salmon (op. cit., p. 196 ff.)).

[194] Th., I, 112, 1-2.

[195] Gomme, op. cit., p. 413. D.S. (XII, 3, 3) gives the date of the expedition as 450/49.

[196] D.S., XII, 3-4, 3.; on the question of the historicity of the Peace I am a believer and would endorse wholeheartedly the views of Meiggs (*The Athenian Empire*, p. 129 ff).

[197] *Cim* 18, 5-6.

[198] Th., I, 112, 4.

[199] It will then be this fleet to which the *θεοπρόποι* sent by Cimon to Zeus Ammon returned (Plu., op. cit., 18, 7 *ταῦτ'ἀκούσαντες οἱ θεοπρόποι κατέβαινον ἐπὶ θάλασσαν. γενόμενοι δ'ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὃ τότε περὶ Αἴγυπτον ἦ, ἐπύθοντο τεθνάναι τὸν Κίμωνα*). Salmon accepts the passage at the foot of the letter (op. cit., p. 200 ff.) but this view depends entirely on the belief stated earlier that Cimon had operated off Egypt. Having made the first mistake, Plutarch could very easily make the second.

[200] So rightly Salmon (op. cit., p. 201).

turn of fortune in Egypt itself but may simply be the result of the peace moves or, even, the conclusion of the peace itself. We have in fact no indication of the date of the end of Amyrtaeus, though it is quite clear from Herodotus that his independent ἀρχή was eventually terminated by Persian military action.[201]

The expedition to assist Amyrtaeus is the last evidence we have in the period up to Herodotus' death of the appearance of the Greeks as allies in Egypt or their involvement in national revolts.[202] The corn sent by an otherwise unknown Psammetichus ὁ τῆς Λιβύης βασιλεύς in 445/4 [203] need not have been connected in any way with such revolutionary activities as Gomme suggests.[204] He is called by Philochorus ὁ τῆς Λιβύης βασιλεύς i.e. he bears a title essentially identical with that of Inarus which implies that he was king of the same Libyan ἀρχή west of the Delta, presumably in succession to Inarus' son Thannyras.[205] Such a position cannot be taken to reflect a successful rebellion since tutelary kings ruling under the general supervision of Persia are well known.[206]

5. *Students*

There are frequent references in classical literature to visits made to Egypt by important figures in the history of Greek civilization and the great debt which they owed to the Egyptians.[207] An excellent example of

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[201] III, 15. They could not have established his son Pausiris as ruler unless they controlled the ἀρχή itself and that situation could only have arisen, directly or indirectly, from military action.

[202] Later, of course, there is any amount of evidence of such involvement (cf. Parke, *Greek Mercenary Soldiers*, Oxford, 1933, p. 105 ff.).

[203] Philochorus, *FgrH* 328, F. 119; Plu., *Per* 37, 4.

[204] Gomme, op. cit., p. 329. Salmon (op. cit., p. 212 ff.) is rightly sceptical.

[205] That P. was a son of Inarus is possible but, since there is not a shred of evidence to prove it, the certainty of Salmon (op. cit., p. 209) and his battery of eminent predecessors is unjustified. A scarab bearing the name *Nb k3 R' Psmṭk* may refer to him; for it cannot apply to any of the 3 kings of the Saitic Dynasty called Psammetichus (Kienitz, op. cit., pp. 76 ff., 233).

[206] Frye, *The Heritage of Persia*, London, 1962, p. 106.

[207] Collected by Hopfner, *Orient und griechische Philosophie. Beihefte zum alten Orient*, 4, 1925. Cf. H., III, 139, 1.

this is to be found in Diodorus who speaks in just these terms of a galaxy of eminent Greeks—the poets and philosophers Orpheus, Melampus, Homer, Lycurgus, Solon, Pythagoras, Democritus, Oenopides, Eudoxus and Plato as well as the artists Daedalus and the sons of Rhoecus, Telecles and Theodorus.[208] It is also claimed by some authors, though strangely enough not by Diodorus, that Thales had spent some time in Egypt. We shall concern ourselves here only with the figures who date to the Fifth Century or earlier.

Even the most cursory reading suggests doubts about the visits of some of them. The historicity of Orpheus is questionable and, in any case, the matter which he is alleged to have brought back is certainly of native Greek origin as is also the case with the traditions attributed to the διάβασις of Homer. Melampus is largely, if not completely, a legendary figure.[209] Lycurgus is also to be struck from the list for reasons so obvious that they need no discussion here. Daedalus can likewise be removed immediately for the same reason as Melampus.[210] Democritus (born c. 460 B.C.),[211] who is claimed to have obtained πολλὰ ... τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀστρολογίαν [212] from Egypt, is another obvious candidate for removal; for borrowing is rendered improbable by the low achievement of Egyptian astronomers and impossible by everything we know of his physical system which is Greek in every syllable.[213]

These traditions are clearly historically unsound but explaining them presents no problem. The stages in their evolution were clearly three in number :

(a) The observation of superficial similarities in practice or ideas between Greece and Egypt.

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[208] I, 96-98.

[209] Vide n. II, 49.

[210] The name and the hopeless confusion of the legendary tradition (Richter, *Kouroi*, London, 1960, p. 28 ff.; v. Gärtringen, *Der kleine Pauly*, I, 1360 ff.) make it clear that he was the fictitious inventor of skilful work, a πρῶτος εὑρετής with as much historicity as eponymous heroes like Thasos and Tyrrhenus.

[211] Kirk & Raven, *The Presocratic Philosophers*, Cambridge, 1962, p. 402.

[212] Ἀστρολογία here clearly means "astronomy" as is shown by the data on Oenopides' learning in the subject which follow immediately after.

[213] Kirk & Raven, op. cit., p. 409 ff.

(b) The application of *post hoc ergo propter hoc* i.e. the younger nation has borrowed from the older.[214]
(c) A visit by the Greek is postulated to account for the imagined borrowing.

Such an evolution of the tradition is indicated by Diodorus himself when he writes of the Egyptian priests that ἐκ τῆς ἑκάστῳ ζηλωθείσης παιδείας ἀποδείξεις φέρουσι, συνίσταντες ἐξ Αἰγύπτου μετενηνέχθαι πάντα δι' ὧν παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐθαυμάσθησαν. The fact that the priests are given as the source (οἱ ἱερεῖς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἱστοροῦσιν ἐκ τῶν ἀναγραφῶν τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις) does not in any way increase the authority of Diodorus' statements. It is clear that, from an early stage in Greek relations with Egypt, Greek notions had been injected into the main-stream of Egyptian traditions and had gladly been accepted where they redounded to the credit of the Egyptians themselves (vide infra p. 109 ff.). After several centuries under the heel of Graeco-Macedonian rulers it is not surprising that the priests should assert such mistaken claims of cultural superiority over their masters. *Αἱ ἀναγραφαὶ αἱ ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις* might be inference by Diodorus or his source. Alternatively, the traditions which the priests had taken over from the Greeks could have been enshrined in Egyptian documents. Whichever is the case, there can be no reasonable doubt of the ultimately Greek origin of these notions.

The isolation of such a wrong-headed process of thought in Greek views on the subject of scholarly visits must inevitably make us highly suspicious of all the other cases mentioned in Diodorus—or for that matter anywhere else. None can be accepted unless, after a rigorous analysis, we have no reasonable alternative but to regard the tradition as genuine. We must, therefore, proceed to examine all the other cases to discover whether they can be explained in the same fashion.

From our discussion thus far it will be clear that in order to establish the plausibility of the visit we must do four things :

1. It must be demonstrated that the similarities in question are not illusory.

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[214] For a detailed discussion of the operation of this principle in Herodotus vide infra, p. 147 ff.

2. It must be established that the similar features are not likely to have been a natural organic development of separate traditions.

3. The chronological priority of our alleged donor in developing the *Kulturgut* involved must be beyond doubt.

4. We must establish the probable existence of a genuine recollection conveyed by tradition that the figure in question had, in fact, visited Egypt i.e. we must have good reason to discount inference as the basis of the tradition.

Let us now discuss them in chronological order.

It was claimed in ancient times [215] and is still asserted by some scholars [216] that Thales visited Egypt and obtained scientific doctrines from there. Three of the achievements of this renowned archaic *guru* have been used since antiquity as proofs of a visit :

1. He introduced γεωμετρία.
2. He held a theory about the causes of the inundation of the Nile.
3. He taught that water was the ἀρχή.

It is quite clear that not one of these points can be taken to prove a visit :

1. We need not deny that Thales was a geometrician of considerable standing but the contention, found as early as Herodotus (II, 109), that γεωμετρία was invented in Egypt and brought from there lacks all foundation. Herodotus is certainly right when he claims that the Egyptians' γεωμετρίη was derived from the needs of surveying. In fact, it ought to be described simply as "surveying techniques" and hardly deserves the name "geometry" with its associations of pure intellectual enquiry into the mathematical properties of forms.[217] There is, however,

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[215] Aetius, I, 3, 1; Proclus, *In Euclidem*, p. 65 Friedl; Plu., *DIO* 34 (*Mor* 364 D); Kirk & Raven, op. cit., p. 76 ff.

[216] "he (sc. Thales) also probably visited Egypt" (Kirk & Raven, op. cit., p. 97). It is, however, typical of such modern discussions that after an analysis of the evidence on the subject which effectively demolishes it and where they speak of the visit only as "possible enough" (p. 77 ff.) the writers are still able, 20 pages later, to speak in terms of a *probable* voyage!

[217] Neugebauer, *The Exact Sciences in Antiquity*. Princeton, 1952, p. 71 ff.

no reason to believe that such surveying techniques as the Egyptians possessed had any effect in Greece. The properties of the triangle, square etc. are the same anywhere and identical techniques for dealing with them are likely to be developed independently.[218]

In this case, therefore, Herodotus violates principle 2 and that, taken together with the wrong-headed methodology for isolating cultural borrowing already mentioned, must make his assertion highly suspect. It seems, then, reasonable to suggest that the process was this. "Greeks and Egyptians have γεωμετρίη. It is older in Egypt. Therefore, the Greeks got it from there".

2. That Thales held some views on the rising of the Nile, a notorious *crux* in antiquity, is likely enough but his Etesian wind theory (n. II, 20) could have been developed without ever setting foot in Egypt since Miletus was a sea-port with intimate Egyptian connections and masses of information on conditions there must have been available to all.

3. Plutarch stated that the idea that water was the ἀρχή was taught by Thales and that it came from Egypt. Kirk and Raven are prepared to follow him in this. "Thales probably derived his idea that the earth floats on water from earlier near-eastern, and possible Egyptian, mythological accounts".[219] This will not do. In fact nothing we know of this doctrine compels us to look for an Egyptian origin. We cannot, in fact, be certain what Thales thought on cosmological subjects not only because the fragments are, in the important sections, ambiguous but because the tradition of the Pre-Socratic philosophers is substantially Peripatetic and reflects the preoccupations and, in the nature of things, misconceptions of the school—*and it is in the highest degree unlikely that a writer as late as Plutarch was any better informed than we are i.e. he too was guessing.*

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[218] Aristotle (*Met* 981b23) agrees with Herodotus but there is not any great likelihood of independence on the matter. Guthrie (*History of Greek Philosophy*, Cambridge, 1962, I, pp. 33 ff., 218 ff.) to some extent shares my scepticism. The Ionians were, in fact, excellent mathematicians and capable of work in that field which is infinitely superior to that of the Egyptians (Heidel, "The Pythagoreans and Greek Mathematics", *AJPh* 61 (1940), p. 1 ff.). Such native aptitude should in itself make us wary of theories on the foreign origin of Greek *mathematica.*

[219] Op. cit., p. 77.

Let us, however, for sake of argument, examine the two most prevalent views on the rôle of water in Thales' system : [220]

1. Water was the ἀρχή in the sense of a ὑποκειμένη ὕλη.
2. The earth came into being out of water but did not have an abiding relationship with it as was the case with the classical ἀρχή doctrines, e.g. Anaximander's τὸ ἄπειρον and Anaximenes' ἀήρ.

1. For such a doctrine foreign influence is a quite unnecessary hypothesis. It is surely clear that, as soon as one begins to think in terms of a single ἀρχή, one is quickly faced with the problem of ἀλλοίωσις. Water, from everyday experience, would be known to possess considerable versatility in changing its form (ice, steam) and would naturally suggest itself as the ἀρχή for that reason alone.

2. If we accept the thesis that Thales taught that all came into being i.e. rose out of water we are again not justified in postulating an Egyptian origin for the idea. This concept could naturally occur to a citizen of Miletus where the effects of sedimentation were only too well known.[221] Further, the Greeks were a sailing nation and often saw land slowly appearing over the horizon as they approached it almost as if it were appearing from the water itself.

For all the uncertainty in Thales' cosmology, however, one thing is sure. Water played a large part in cosmogony and that in itself would be enough to start Greeks along the road to the thesis that the idea was in some way connected with the Egyptian concept of world's coming into being from the waters of the primeval ocean of Nūn.[222]

A final, and surely conclusive refutation of the tradition of Thales' visit is the fact that it is not found in Herodotus. If there had been one, we should reasonably expect him to know of it since he has so much to say about Thales in Book I [223] and, had he known it, he would certainly have told

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[220] Aristotle (*De Caelo*, B 13, 294a28; *Met* A 3, 983b6) is ultimately the only source. The passages are excellently discussed by Kirk and Raven, op. cit., p. 87 ff. who rightly emphasize their unreliability.

[221] Vide Introductory n. II, 5-34.

[222] On which vide Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, Berlin, 1952, p. 535, s.v. Nun.

[223] I, 74, 75, 170.

us because he was obsessed with the question of the Egyptian legacy to Greece.

It is, then, clear in the case of Thales that the tradition of an Egyptian visit grew up in post-Herodotean times and had no other basis than the superficial similarities between his achievements—real or imaginary—and those of the Egyptians. The ideas in question will have arisen quite independently and we have, therefore, no alternative but to strike Thales from our list.

The tradition that Solon visited Egypt is found in Herodotus (I, 30, 1; II, 177) where we are told that during the self-imposed 10 years' absence from Athens after the passing of his legislation Solon visited Amasis of Egypt and took over from him the law that every citizen should declare his source of income each year. To this story there are several damning objections :

1. There can be no reasonable doubt that the legislative activity of Solon dated to his archonship in 594/3.[224] Since Amasis did not ascend the throne until 570 B.C., chronological considerations alone put any borrowing of laws quite out of court.[225]

2. At the same time i.e. in the ten years after his archonship between 593-583 Solon is claimed to have visited Croesus, King of Lydia, despite the fact that on Herodotus' own chronology, Croesus did not ascend the throne until 561-60 B.C.[226] Obviously Herodotus' tradition on the travels of Solon after 594 is highly suspect.

3. The measures which Herodotus has in mind were an integral part and logical expression of two different systems. A law of the type men-

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[224] So also de Meulenaere (op. cit., p. 115 ff.). A date in the 570's is advocated *inter al.* by Hignett (*History of the Athenian Constitution*, Oxford, 1967, p. 316 ff. in a singularly muddled excursus) and Sealey ("Regionalism in Archaic Athens", *Historia* 9 (1960), p. 159) but this is placed out of court by F. 70 *ὁ δὲ τρισκαιδέκατος ἄξων τοῦ Σόλωνος τὸν ὄγδοον ἔχει τῶν νόμων οὕτως αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασι γεγραμμενον · ἀτίμων. ὅσοι ἄτιμοι ἦσαν πρὶν ἢ Σόλωνα ἄρξαι, ἐπιτίμους εἶναι.* etc. This can surely only mean that Solon brought about a new state of affairs in his archonship i.e. his legislation dates to that time (Ruschenbusch, *ΣΟΛΩΝΟΣ NOMOI. Historia. Einzelschriften Heft* 9 (1966), p. 94 ff.).

[225] Presumably it was this difficulty which led Theophrastus to claim that the law was introduced by Peisistratus (cf. Plu., *Sol* 31, 5).

[226] Vide infra, p. 174.

tioned by Herodotus was a basic feature of the fiscal system of Egypt before and after Saite times, although there happens, doubtless purely by chance, to be no evidence of it in the Seventh and Sixth Centuries.[227] As for Athens, it is not absolutely clear what Herodotus has in mind as the counterpart. In the Solonian system information of the type mentioned would be required both for the determination of τιμήματα [228] and also under the νόμος ἀργίας. Ruschenbusch believes that Herodotus has confused the two [229] but the most natural interpretation is to take the passage as referring to the second. Whichever is the case, however, a native Greek origin is certain. Without τιμήματα there could be no Solonian system and τιμήματα could not be established without a regular census. As for the νόμος ἀργίας, not only does such a measure have its intellectual antecedents as early as Hesiod,[230] whose thinking permeates the mind of Solon,[231] but it also fits in with Solon's ideal of general involvement in the activities of the state whether in the political or economic sphere.[232]

We have shown that Herodotus' statements on the travels of Solon in general and the Egyptian visit in particular are chronological nonsense. It is equally clear that superficial similarities between Greek and Solonian laws have caused Herodotus or his source to postulate a borrowing. Obviously we have yet another example of the syndrome with which we are familiar—similarity of practice suggests identity, identity suggests borrowing and borrowing suggests a visit. The consummation is I, 30 and II, 177. Yet again we have not alternative but denial and we must accept that there was never any valid evidence that Solon visited Egypt. The notion must be abandoned. To say, as some doubtless will, that, even

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[227] Pirenne, *Histoire des Institutions et du Droit Privé*, Brussels, 1932-, II, p. 176 ff.; de Meulenaere, op. cit., p. 96; Salmon, op. cit., p. 46 ff.

[228] Ruschenbusch, op. cit., F. 78a-c.

[229] l.c.

[230] *Op* where the obligation on the individual to labour is emphasized repeatedly. Toil is part of the divine law (δίκη) for man (309, 398) and failure to observe δίκη brings disaster not only on the individual but often on the whole society to which he belongs (240).

[231] Solmsen, *Hesiod and Aeschylus*, New York, 1949, p. 103 ff.; Lloyd - Jones, *The Justice of Zeus*, Berkeley & Los Angeles, London, 1971, p. 43 ff.

[232] Vlastos, "Solonian Justice", *CP* 41 (1946), p. 65 ff.

if the evidence is demolished, it is still possible that Solon went there is simply to betray the common disinclination of the human mind to give up a belief to which it has once committed itself. The evidence for Solon's visit to Egypt does not exist—probably never existed—and that is where the matter must be left.[233]

As for Pythagoras we find evidence which implies the existence of the tradition of his visit to Egypt as early as Herodotus. At all events we have the basic pre-condition viz. the observation of what are alleged to be identical beliefs. Is the identity of the material yet again illusory? If not are we compelled to accept a borrowing? Let us consider it.

In II, 81 we are told that the Egyptians do not enter temples dressed in woollen garments nor are they buried in such garments and that this taboo had been taken over by the Orphico-Pythagoreans who are never buried in wool. These similarities certainly existed [234] but the inference from them is clearly mistaken. Firstly, the idea of taking over a taboo is not easy to accept; for taboos usually involve some inconvenience which few will incur except under dire compulsion. They will, of course, be taken over with an entire system of which they form an integral part but in this instance such is not the case and the thesis of a borrowed taboo must, therefore, be regarded as unlikely. The view is also rendered highly suspect by the fact that it violates our second principle; for the taboo is clearly a natural, organic development of the basic Orphico-Pythagorean distaste for things animal.[235]

According to Herodotus Pythagoras and the Orphics obtained their doctrine of *παλιγγενεσία* from Egypt (II, 123).[236] This is certainly incorrect. Not only is there no evidence of this idea in Egypt but it is

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[233] De Meulenaere (op. cit., p. 115) accepts the visit itself while denying the borrowing of the *νόμος ἀργίας* on the basis of the consistent tradition and Solon F. 6 (Diehl). The first argument will not do since they are surely all based on Herodotus I, 30 and II, 177 which are in turn based on fallacious premises while the second makes the mind boggle. The fragment consists of one solitary line

Νείλου ἐπὶ προχοῇσι Κανωβίδος ἐγγύθεν ἀκτῆς

How this can be taken to prove a visit of Solon to Egypt I quite fail to understand!

[234] Vide n. ad loc.

[235] Kirk & Raven, op. cit., p. 225 ff.

[236] Herodotus names no names but this was hardly necessary!

fundamentally opposed to the Egyptian mentality. The idea of metempsychosis is inseparably linked with the concept of the dual nature of man—body and soul—and the idea that the soul is divine and immortal, the body earthly and mortal. For this reason the soul is required to purify itself from corporeal dross in a series of re-incarnations until it can be released from the cycle of births.[237] The Egyptian concept was very different. Certainly man is composed of several ingredients—body, *b3*, *k3*—but there is no fundamental dualism between body and spirit and they can never be permanently separated. The *b3* and *k3* can leave the body but their survival is dependent on it—hence mummification.[238] There is not the slightest trace of an Orphico-Pythagorean dualism and without that the Greek doctrine of παλιγγενεσία is impossible. How, then, did Herodotus get the idea? The Greek conviction that the idea was current can be explained in several ways. It might be a misinterpretation of the Egyptian concept of the bird-soul (the *b3*)which is often represented in iconography [239] or of the *irt ḫprw* spells of the *Book of the Dead* which are often illustrated with explanatory vignettes and are designed to enable the deceased to take on any shape he likes in the After-Life to get over such difficulties as he might encounter on his journey to the Western Land.[240] Herodotus, or his source, had probably seen such representations and immediately been reminded of the Greek doctrine of transmigration. Convinced of the identity of the two, the person responsible had then applied the fallacious principle already discussed and argued that the Orphico-Pythagoreans got the idea from Egypt so that Herodotus can, in II, 123, foist the entire Greek doctrine, in all its glory, on the Egyptians. This idea, therefore, violates our principle 1 and is obviously wrong.

Up to this point our results have been entirely negative. Of Diodorus' list we are only left with the sculptors Telecles and Theodorus but here

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[237] The idea and its implications are perfectly summarized in the tag σῶμα σῆμα cf. *int. al.* Pl., *Grg* 493a.

[238] Vide n. II, 85 ff.

[239] So Žabkar ("Herodotus and the Egyptian Idea of Immortality", *JNES* 22 (1963), p. 57 ff.) & Gwyn Griffiths ("Hecataeus and Herodotus on 'A Gift of the River' ", ib. 25 (1966), p. 61).

[240] *Book of the Dead*, Ch. LXXVI-LXXXVIII.

we appear to be at last on firmer ground. We are told that these two made a statue of the Pythian Apollo at Delphi by employing the Egyptian canon. They determined the proportions according to this scheme and then parted, one to remain in Samos and the other to cross over to Ephesus. The two halves were then made separately, brought together and found to fit perfectly. The statue which resulted was obviously of the κοῦρος type (εἶναι δ' αὐτὸ λέγουσι ... τὰ δὲ σκέλη διαβεβηκότα) while both the method and the tradition that Rhoecus and his sons were renowned bronze-casters make it certain that the statue was made of metal.[241]

This tradition of Diodorus at any rate certainly fits most of our criteria. That Greek κοῦροι owe something to Egypt is certain.[242] First, the sculptors show considerable skill in working with the point,[243] one of the few techniques available for sculpting in such hard materials as the marble of which they are made. This has no Greek antecedents but is exemplified in Egypt from an early period.[244] Furthermore, the New York κοῦρος shows influence of the Egyptian canon.[245] Finally, κοῦροι display features in common with Egyptian standing statues—the extended left foot, the hands clenched and often grasping a stone core and a hair style closely paralleled by the Egyptian wig. Certainly there are important differences. The advancement of the foot in Greek work is much slighter. The arms in the Greek statues are bent. Further not only are the κοῦροι nude—an extremely rare characteristic in Egyptian sculpture or painting—but there is much more attention to anatomical detail in the Greek work. Finally the spirit and intellectual content of

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[241] So also Lippold, *RE* VA, 2, 1919.

[242] Richter, *Kouroi*, London, 1960, p. 5; Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*, p. 160 ff.; Anthes, "Affinity and Difference between Egyptian and Greek Sculpture and Thought in the 7th and 6th Centuries B.C." *PAPhS* 107, 1 (1963), p. 60 ff.; Levin, "The Male Figure in Egyptian and Greek Sculpture of the Seventh and Sixth Centuries B.C.", *AJA* 68 (1964), p. 13 ff.; Morenz, *Die Begegnung Europas mit Ägypten*, Berlin, 1968, p. 72 ff.

[243] Richter, op. cit., p. 10; Etienne, *The Chisel in Greek Sculpture*, Leiden, 1968, pp. XIII, 15-16, 19-27.

[244] Lucas & Harris, op. cit., p. 68 ff.

[245] Boardman, *Pre-classical: From Crete to Archaic Greece*, Harmondsworth, 1967, p. 98.

Egyptian statuary is left entirely to one side by the Greeks. Despite all this, however, there is no gainsaying that the κοῦροι sculptors were stimulated by the design and scale of Egyptian work and, above all, the Egyptian skill in carving hard stone.

We have, then, satisfied the first three requirements which are necessary to establish the visit. What of the fourth? The requisite precision could only be achieved by the use of a canon or something similar. Furthermore, Samians were well known in Egypt, particularly at Naucratis.[246] Hence it is perfectly possible that the tradition of the use of the Egyptian canon is correct. We must, however, be suspicious, in the light of all that has emerged in the previous discussion, of the statement that Telecles and Theodorus had learned it in Egypt; for it might be nothing more than inference. There must always remain the nagging suspicion that some other Greeks—Samians or otherwise—had introduced them to Egyptian methods. Indeed if the Rhoecus on the dedicatory inscription found at Naucratis [247] is their father—and the name is not at all common—they might have got the technique from him. While, however, in the case of these two a measure of doubt must remain, it is as certain as anything well can be that some Greek artists had visited Egypt and benefited by what they had seen. The Egyptian elements in the κοῦροι can have no other explanation; for none would presumably countenance the hypothesis that Egyptian artists had brought the ideas to the Greek world.

Let us now sum up. Classical statements on visits to Egypt by important figures in literature, art and thought are all deeply suspect for the period up to Herodotus' death. They are based on a complex interaction of the *post hoc ergo propter hoc* fallacy, an exaggerated respect for Egyptian civilization, the Greek taste for a single source from which all things come and the predilection for simple schematized linear sequences. These attitudes suggested that Greece owed much to Egyptian *Kulturgut* and that was developed still further by the crowning fallacy that the material in question was obtained by the figures with whom it was associated during a visit to Egypt itself.

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[246] Vide n. II, 178, 3.

[247] Petrie, *Naucratis*, London, 1888, II, p. 65, n. 778; cf. p. 59.

CHAPTER TWO

HERODOTUS' TRAVELS IN EGYPT

Under this heading three topics need discussion :

1. The date of Herodotus' journey.
2. The season of the year.
3. The itinerary.

1. The Date

To establish this we need either an express statement of the date of his journey by Herodotus himself, the mention of a datable event which took place, according to Herodotus' own words, while he was in Egypt or an indication by a reliable ancient author. We have none of these aids and consequently, short of the appearance of new evidence, we cannot know. We need not, however, despair entirely but the evidence is so meagre and the effects of question-begging have been so serious that it is necessary to proceed with the greatest caution.

We have only one certain date. Herodotus does give us a positive *terminus post*. In III, 12, 4 he informs us that he had himself seen at Papremis the skulls *τῶν ἅμα Ἀχαιμένεϊ τῷ Δαρείου διαφθαρέντων ὑπὸ Ἰνάρω τοῦ Λίβυος*.[1] Since the Battle of Papremis took place c. 459 B.C.,[2] he must have been in Egypt after that date. From this point, however, the ground becomes treacherous. We can establish probabilities which carry varying degrees of conviction but no more than that.

Given the date c. 459 we may reasonably argue as follows. The Battle of Papremis formed part of a much larger series of military operations known as the Revolt of Inarus which raged in the Delta and the Memphite

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[1] Vide infra, p. 85.

[2] Vide supra, p. 42. This datum is used in the same way by Sourdille, *La Durée et l'Etendue du Voyage d'Hérodote en Égypte*, Paris, 1910, p. 2, n. 7 and Spiegelberg, *Die Glaubwürdigkeit von Herodots Bericht über Ägypten im Lichte der ägyptischen Denkmäler*, *OA* 3 (1926), p. 5.

area until the irremediable defeat of the Athenian forces c. 455. Between the outbreak of the revolt c. 463-2 and its disastrous termination c. 455 the whole of Northern Egypt must have resembled an armed camp rife with marauding bands of soldiers—Greek, Persian and Egyptian—as well as large numbers of refugees, cut-throats and brigands compelled by hunger and desperation to get what they could by all possible means.[3] Such conditions would have constituted a major obstacle to any inquisitive Greek intent on investigating the marvels of Egypt but particularly to Herodotus since the Canopic Branch and its immediate environs, which certainly made up a considerable part of his itinerary,[4] formed the major rebel stronghold and the chief theatre of operations. Thus c. 455 can be regarded with some confidence as the earliest likely date for his visit.[5]

It is perhaps possible to narrow the limits just a little further. Herodotus had definite anti-Persian connections. Through his hostility to Lygdamis, tyrant of Halicarnassus, he had been forced into exile in Samos [6] which formed part of the Athenian Empire while his native city Halicarnassus had been in that position, probably since c. 468,[7] certainly from 454/3.[8] It is hardly likely that a person with such affinities could have got into Egypt in time of war; for we can be confident that the Persians maintained a careful watch on the Delta coast until the Peace of Callias (449/8 B.C.) [9] since, even though the Revolt of Inarus had been suppressed, his successor Amyrtaeus remained active in the marshes and there was a distinct possibility of the arrival of an Athenian fleet to assist him.[10] It is, therefore, likely enough that Herodotus had to wait until 449/8.

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[3] Some idea of the disruption caused may be derived from what we know of the result of Libyan invasions in the Ramesside Period (vide Černý, *CAH* Cambridge, 1965, II, Ch. XXXV, fasc. 27, p. 14 ff.).

[4] Vide infra, p. 72 ff.

[5] Cf. Powell, *The History of Herodotus*, Cambridge, 1939, p. 26 ff., though his notion of a double visit is at best undemonstrable.

[6] Jacoby, *RE* SB II, 216 ff.

[7] Bean & Cook, "The Halicarnassus Peninsula", *BSA* 50 (1955), p. 95 ff.

[8] Hill (rev. Meiggs-Andrewes), *Sources for Greek History*, Oxford, 1966, p. 416.

[9] Vide supra, p. 48, n. 196.

[10] Jacoby (op. cit., 266) tries to use the Amyrtaeus rebellion as a *terminus post* in a different and quite fallacious way. To say that Herodotus would not have visited Egypt "bei währendem Aufstande" is in this case absurd; for Amyrtaeus' activities were confined to the extreme northern Delta and would, of themselves, have posed no problem to a prospective traveller, It is their *consequences* which are important in

Establishing a positive *terminus ante* is much more difficult. The close relationship between III, 118-9 and Sophocles, *Antigone* 904 ff.[11] proves that part at least of Herodotus' manuscript was available to the Athenian dramatist in some form or another before c. 443 B.C., the date of the play's production. This may indicate that Book II was written by then but it is not a necessary deduction. Some sections of the *Histories* must surely have caught fire long before others and there is no reason why Book II, as we have it, and the visit which it clearly reflects should not have fallen after Herodotus composed the relevant section of Book III. In fact, a *terminus ante* for the visit to Egypt can only be found in the most general terms.

Theoretically the two most obvious points to look for are the publication date of the *Histories* or a date by which Herodotus must have ceased work, whether through death or some other cause. Since, however, the work is unfinished it is reasonable to assume that the second preceded the first [12] and we shall concentrate on that.

Herodotus was certainly active in 431-0 because he several times refers to events of those years (VI, 91; VII, 137, 233, 2; IX, 73, 3) but it is a debatable matter how far beyond that point he was working. There are two opinions current. Jacoby believed that Herodotus died in the first years of the Archidamian War [13] but Fornara [14] has recently resurrected the old view of Wells [15] and others that he was still alive and working at the end of this conflict. In view of such a disparity a survey of the evidence is essential :

1. There is no certain reference to events dated after 430 B.C.[16] despite

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the form of general Persian alertness in the area. In any case, there is no evidence that the revolt of Amyrtaeus ended in 448-7 as J. assumes (vide supra, p. 49).

[11] This passage has often been athetized (eg. Page, *Actors' Interpolations in Greek Tragedy*, Oxford, 1934, p. 86 ff.) on the grounds of its illogicality. To apply the criterion of formal logic to a speech of such emotional intensity betrays a naivety characteristic of classical literary criticism. For those who require a formal refutation Jacoby's discussion (op. cit., 234 ff.) is more than adequate.

[12] Jacoby, op. cit., 372 ff.

[13] Op. cit., 230 ff.

[14] "Evidence for the Date of Herodotus' Publication", *JHS* 91 (1971), p. 25 ff.

[15] *Studies in Herodotus*, Oxford, 1923, p. 169 ff.

[16] Jacoby, l.c.

ingenious attempts to prove otherwise. Fornara has argued,[17] like some of his predecessors, that VI, 98 indicates that Herodotus was alive at the time of the death of Artaxerxes in 424 and also insists that VII, 235, 2-3 presupposes Nicias' capture of Cythera in the same year but these two *loci* need mean nothing of the sort.[18] At first sight he seems on firmer ground with IX, 73, 3 of which he writes "Not merely the aorist participle, γενόμενον, which requires that we translate the phrase as 'the war that took place', but the entire burden of the meaning in Herodotus' assertion that Decelea was unravaged during the war, make it clear that the war was over when he wrote the sentence. Otherwise he must have formulated differently. When the future course of events is uncertain you do not isolate something that has happened once but need not happen again and present it in language indicating that it was always the case".[19] This is too positive. The aorist participle could be instantaneous and, therefore, construable "the war which broke out". Furthermore, Herodotus need not be referring to "something that has happened once but need not happen again". If he wrote this section in 425 or 424 he would have had no fewer than five invasions of Attica behind him. This would surely be enough to justify his general statement. It is also worth remembering that, since the comment οὕτω ὥστε ...Δεκελέης ἀπέχεσθαι has with some justice been regarded as a note carelessly inserted by Herodotus into a previously written passage rather than a carefully considered statement,[20] we should beware of laying too much weight upon it. Of course it *may* have been interpolated in 415 but could also have been added years earlier. Nothing, then certainly datable after 430.

2. The *Acharnians*, which was produced at the Lenaea of 425, contains passages reminiscent of the *Histories* (68-92~I, 114, 133; 523-529~I, 4) and has often been claimed to reflect their publication.[21] This is invalid. The first passage may derive from Herodotus but, in view of the existence of the rich ethnographic tradition and considerable experience of the Persians available to Aristophanes' audience, it is not a safe deduction.

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[17] Op. cit., p. 32 ff.

[18] Cf. How & Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus*, Oxford, 1928, nn. ad loca.

[19] Op. cit., p. 34.

[20] Vide Rawlinson, Stein, Macan ad loc.

[21] Jacoby, op. cit., 232.

The situation is not much more happy with the second passage. It is by no means impossible that Aristophanes has written a parody of the historian but it is just as likely that it is the *Telephus* of Euripides which is the butt of his wit at this point.[22]

3. There is undoubted parody of the *Histories* in Aristophanes' *Birds* produced in 414 (1124-1138 ~ I, 179).[23] Since parody presupposes in the audience a general acquaintance with the object parodied, we must assume that many of Aristophanes' listeners knew Book I. This situation could be the result of publication but it might also be the result of public readings which we have reason to believe Herodotus actually gave in Athens.[24] Reference or influence is also possible in several Euripidean plays of approximately the same date (*Electra* 1280 ff.; *Helen passim*; *Iphigenia in Tauris passim*) [25] but it is equally likely that the treatment of the Helen legend in the two former derives from Stesichorus [26] rather than Herodotus and the Taurian information in the latter from Hecataeus or some similar source.

4. IX, 73, 3 was written before 413 B.C., the date of the Spartan occupation of Decelea. The fact that no alteration was made could mean that Herodotus was dead by that date but it might also be the case that he was no longer working on the *Histories* or even that he was still active but never got around to making the necessary emendation.

It will be immediately clear that most of this evidence is double-edged and that it will depend very much on individual taste how much weight is placed on particular factors. To the present author, as to many others, the evidence of the *Birds* parody in 414 and the implications of IX, 73, 3, taken together suggest, even if they do not prove, that Herodotus was dead and the *Histories* published by that date. It also seems likely that, since Herodotus was so allusive a writer, he would have made some references to events after 430, if he had still been at work. This assumes, of course, that he did not have some arcane reason for keeping silent but that seems

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[22] Fornara, op. cit., p. 28.

[23] Wells, op. cit., p. 177 ff.; Fornara, op. cit., p. 28 ff.

[24] Jacoby, op. cit., 226 ff.

[25] Fornara, op. cit., p. 30 ff.

[26] Diehl, *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*, Leipzig, 1925, II, p. 43, F. 11; Page, *Poeti Melici Graeci*, Oxford, 1962, p. 104 ff., F. 192-3.

a reasonable assumption if only because it is impossible to imagine what that reason might have been. We have, therefore, some justification for believing that Herodotus was dead by 414 and at least inactive from the early years of the Peloponnesian War. If this is correct, it implies a date for the visit to Egypt at a minimum several years earlier than 430 since we must allow enough time for the journey itself, the collection of material and the writing of the book. This may, of course, all have taken place up to twenty years before but there is no evidence either to prove or disprove such a view. "Probably some time before 430" is the best *terminus ante* we can get.

It is only possible to make one further statement about the chronology of the journey to Egypt with any degree of confidence. It is likely that the voyage to Egypt and the writing of the *Αἰγύπτιος λόγος* preceded the journey to Babylonia (during which Herodotus may have paid his visit to Tyre [27] if he travelled straight from Egypt up the Fertile Crescent) since the account of Babylonia abounds in comparisons with Egypt (I, 182, 193, 198 etc.) whereas there is no comparison between Egypt and Babylonia in Book II.[28]

In conclusion we should offer a warning against several speciously attractive possibilities of pinning the date down more precisely. Jacoby used his theory of the *Entwicklungsgeschichte* of Herodotus in general and the *Histories* in particular to place the visit before the late 440's. These views on the evolution of the *Histories* run as follows. The work consists of ethnographic *λόγοι* integrated by and subordinated to the theme of the Persian Wars. The two largest excursuses, the Egyptian and the Scythian, create an overwhelming impression of having been composed as independent pieces and then turned to a different purpose. The explanation must be that these *λόγοι* were written by "der Geograph Herodot" in his early years under the influence of writers like Hecataeus and that only at a later date, with the maturing of his thoughts, did he conceive the grand design of a history of the Persian Wars into which these could naturally be fitted. To Jacoby the turning point came with Herodotus' visit to and lengthy stay at Athens in the late 440's.[29] Having

[27] II, 44.

[28] Jacoby, op. cit., 265.

[29] This date was based on the *Congruenz* between Sophocles' *Antigone* 904 ff. and Herodotus, III, 118 ff. and the fact that the *Antigone* was produced c. 443 B.C.

established this fix he is then able to argue that Book II and the *Ägypten-reise* belong to an earlier stage in Herodotus' life.

There are at least two things wrong with this line of reasoning. First, to suggest that the idea of a large scale history of the Persian Wars was the result of a stay in Athens in the 440's is sheer guess work. It *may* have been but two or three years of quiet reflection anywhere else in later life could have served just as well. Therefore, even on the assumption that Jacoby's evolutionary theory is correct, there is no reason to place Book II and the journey preceding it before the 440's. But is the theory, in fact, correct? We do not know—and that is the second objection to his argument. Even if the visit to Athens did spark off the project, Jacoby's concept of the *Histories*' development is quite incapable of proof and it is possible to provide others quite as plausible. It is perfectly feasible, for example, that Herodotus could have conceived the scheme of his *Histories* [30] at Athens without having undergone any previous phase as a Hecataean geographer. He might then have spent some years in acquiring material and composing trial essays many of which perhaps functioned as rough draughts for extant sections of his work. These, where prototypes existed, would naturally show the influence of these prototypes. Where none such were to be found, Herodotus could have forged for himself a new manner and style. Then, perhaps ten years after its conception, he could have sat down to draught the work which we have. Given his concept of the Persian Wars as simply the latest and most spectacular of a series of conflicts between Europe and Asia, given a taste for epic expansiveness inherited from Homer, given the need to portray the protagonists and their principle resources and supporters, given his incorrigible catholicity of interest and the prose tradition which lay behind him, he would inevitably be led into ethnographical excursuses of some size. Whenever such an excursus imposed itself, he could very naturally have imported and adapted a trial essay. Alternatively, where none was available he might easily have fallen into a Hecataean manner. Either way something very much like an older λόγος might have emerged. Then, once it was finished, he would naturally revert to his habitual

[30] For a recent discussion of the evolution of the *Histories* vide Fornara, *Herodotus —An Interpretative Essay*, Oxford, 1971, p. 1 ff.

historical narrative manner. This view of Herodotus' intellectual development cannot be claimed to be more likely than that of Jacoby—positive evidence is lacking to prove or disprove anything on this subject—but it is at the very least equally valid. Therefore, even if we allow his view on the rôle of the Athenian visit on Herodotus' development, there is no reason why Book II should not have been written after that visit and there is equally no reason why the first-hand experience on which it is based should not likewise date to a similar phase in Herodotus' life.

A further warning that should be issued concerns the tradition of Herodotus' participation in the colonization of Thurii. If this were correct, we might have argued that 444/3, the date of its foundation,[31] was a likely *terminus ante* but since Jacoby has shown that this tradition is probably based on nothing more than the alternative reading *Θούριος* of the Prooemium,[32] the information is worthless. Some connection with city seems certain but its date and nature are quite unknown.

Further than this we cannot go. It would, of course, be possible to weave an elaborate phantasy under the guise of "probabilities" and "plausibilities" but the data are so sparse that this stimulating pastime would lack any claim to be classed as scientific and, since such fabrics have a tendency to be regarded as fact, are positively harmful. All we can say is that Herodotus certainly visited Egypt some time after c. 459 and that the probabilities are in favour of a date between 449 and c. 430. It is also likely that his Egyptian journey took place earlier than that to Syria/Palestine and Mesopotamia.

2. The Season

In order to establish the season of Herodotus' visit to Egypt we need either a clear statement of the time by Herodotus or a reference to a personally seen phenomenon which is confined to a particular season.

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[31] Philipp, "Thurioi", *RE* VIA, 646.

[32] Op. cit., 205. He believed, probably rightly, that *Θούριος* was the original reading, though he considered it as possible that the word was added to the incompleted MS by an editor. When the Halicarnassian origin of Herodotus was established in late Hellenistic or Roman times, *Ἁλικαρνασσεύς* was substituted for *Θούριος* and hence appears in all extant MSS. There is a similar tradition concerning Lysias which

It was the latter which formed the starting point of Sourdille, the author of the standard work on the subject. He wrote, quite correctly,

> "Au point de vue hydrologique et climatologique, la vallée du Nil présente, suivant les saisons, des caractères nettement tranchés. Rechercher quelles particularités de cette double nature Hérodote a observées lui-même est donc le meilleur moyen de déterminer pendant quelle partie de l'année il y séjourna".[33]

Unfortunately although Sourdille saw what ought to be done, he did not observe the strict letter of the principle and acted as though a mention was equivalent to personal observation. This error inevitably had disastrous consequences in his analysis of the evidence, particularly when it was, as often, compounded by patent infelicities of fact and argument. For all that, his results have been accepted and used as the basis for discussion for decades [34] and any treatment of the topic must begin with a critique of them. Refutation of all his mistakes would, however, demand a book in itself and a selection will have to suffice to illustrate what a broken reed his study is.

Sourdille insists that Herodotus was not in Egypt at the beginning of the inundation on two grounds : [35]

1. He would have mentioned the great festivals of the Nile which took place at that time; for he mentioned the main festivals of the Egyptians.[36] This is invalid. Herodotus was talking of *πανηγύρις* and is only obliged to discuss what appeared to him in that light. The Nile Festival may well not have seemed to him to be *πανήγυρις*.

2. The Nile does not spread by filtration and the points nearest the river are not the first to be inundated as Herodotus claims in II, 93, 5-6. If he had been in Egypt when the Nile was rising, he would not have made these mistakes. The first point is false the second true but misunderstanding is easily explained (vide n. ad loc.).

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is rejected by Dover as guesswork (*Lysias & the Corpus Lysiacum*, Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1968, p. 38 ff.).

[33] *La Durée et l'Étendue du Voyage d'Hérodote en Égypte*, Paris, 1910, p. 5.

[34] Spiegelberg (op. cit., p. 14 ff.), Jacoby (op. cit., 262 ff.) and Legrand (*Hérodote*, Paris, 1966, p. 70) accept S.'s results without compunction.

[35] Op. cit., p. 6 ff.

[36] II, 58-63.

Sourdille also argues that Herodotus must have been in Egypt during the inundation season on the basis of the following passages : [37]

1. II, 97-98. "Ce texte est certainement inspiré par une vue directe du voyageur". Why? It could be based on hearsay. The simile is certainly striking enough but could still derive from somebody else.

2. II, 9. Nine days' navigation is calculated from Heliopolis. Since Heliopolis is 6 kms. E. of the Nile, Herodotus must have seen it at the time of the inundation. At this argument the mind positively boggles. In the first place Herodotus does not say that the figure is his but, in any case—and much more important—there was a canal connecting Heliopolis with the Nile.[38] To say, as does Sourdille, that the canal could not be confused with the Nile is irrelevant because all Herodotus says is ἀπὸ δὲ Ἡλίου πόλιος ἐς Θήβας ἐστὶ ἀνάπλοος ἐννέα ἡμερεών and ἀνάπλοος could obviously include an initial navigation on *any* patch of water giving access to the river and forming the first stage of a voyage south on the river.

3. II, 99 must be taken to imply that Memphis looked like an island and so Herodotus must be describing the city at a time when the canal to the west and north had overflowed to fill the entire plain. Again Herodotus does not say that this particular element in his description derives from autopsy. He had certainly been to Memphis and had stayed there some time but he may well not have remembered every detail and thereby included matter acquired at secondhand by ἀκοή. In any case there are other explanations of the λίμναι (n. II, 99).

4. II, 149. In this description of the Lake of Moeris we are told that the colossi standing before a temple of Amenemḥēt III [39] were half submerged. This impression could only have been gained at the Inundation Season when the colossi were probably lapped by its waters.[40] Yet again we must object that Herodotus does not tell us that he saw

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[37] Op. cit., p. 7 ff.

[38] Str., XVII, 1, 27 (C 805); Lancret & Dubois-Aymé, *Description de l'Égypte. Antiquités.* Paris, 1821-29, V, *Description d'Heliopolis*, p. 67.

[39] Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu & Arsinoe*, London, 1889, p. 54.

[40] Petrie, l.c.; id., letter ap Greener, *The Discovery of Egypt*, London, 1966, p. 50 ff.; Ball, *Contributions to the Geography of Egypt*, Cairo, 1939, p. 206.

this unusual sight. The description might well derive from ἀκοή, a possibility strengthened by the eccentric nature of the overall report which certainly suggests some intermediary.

Again, he asserts that Herodotus must have left Egypt by the time the waters returned to their bed : [41]

1. The description of Memphis (II, 99) suggests that Herodotus only saw it during the inundation season. We can admit that without arguing that Herodotus was out of the country by the end of the inundation. He could have spent many months in the Delta after his last visit to Memphis going north.
2. II, 14, 2 is taken to prove that Herodotus was in the Delta when the waters began to retreat. How do we know this section was based on autopsy?
3. II, 92 which describes the lotus and papyrus is used in exactly the same way. Since the lotus and papyrus sprout in the waters of the marshes formed by the retreating Nile, Herodotus must have been in the country at that time. How do we know that Herodotus' description of these plants is based on autopsy?

Again, Herodotus could not have been in Egypt during December and the months immediately following because he states (II, 14; III, 10) that it never rains in Egypt whereas in that month and after rain does occur. It is surely not unreasonable to assume that Herodotus could have been in Egypt for some time without having had any experience of rain. Local falls there may have been but Herodotus might have been somewhere else at the time. When he came to write his work, his thoughts could then be dominated by the memory that, all the time he was there, it had never rained and when he came to argue on the thesis that Egypt was largely deposited by the Nile it was his own experiences and observations which he used.[42] The tradition of the prodigy of the shower at Thebes in the time of Psammetichus III would not alter his view that rainlessness was natural to Egypt because a prodigy is, by definition, unnatural.

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[41] Op. cit., p. 15 ff.
[42] Vide nn. II, 5 ff.

It would be possible to continue in this way for some time, but the essential point has been made. Sourdille's methodology is, in principle, correct but it is wrongly applied and, even where it is correctly employed, the arguments are based on misunderstanding, errors of fact and special pleading.

Unfortunately, while it is easy to demolish the elaborate fabric erected by Sourdille, it is impossible to replace it by anything but nihilism. The plain truth is that we do not possess the data which we have stated to be necessary to solve this problem and we must consequently reconcile ourselves to ignorance of the season of Herodotus' stay in Egypt. *Inter virtutes grammatici* ...

3. The Itinerary of Herodotus in Egypt

In reconstructing the voyage of Herodotus in Egypt we have two categories of evidence :

I. Plain statement of a visit to a particular site.
II. Inference. This may be based on several factors :
  (a) The character of the information on a specific area.
  (b) Known facts about Greeks in Egypt.
  (c) The geography of Egypt.

1. *Plain Statement.*

Herodotus informs us that he visited the following sites in Egypt : [43]

Lower Egypt	Pelusium (III, 12, 1).
	Bubastis (II, 137, 5 ff.).
	Buto West (II, 155-6).
	Buto East (II, 75).
	Sais (II, 28, 1; 131, 3; 170, 2).
	Papremis (III, 12, 4).
	Heliopolis (II, 3, 1).
	Memphis (II, 2, 5; 3, 1; 99 ff.).

[43] In Book II Herodotus also speaks of visits outside Egypt to Tyre (II, 44, 3), Thasos (II, 44, 4) and Dodona (II, 52, 1 ff.).

Upper Egypt — Moeris (II, 5, 1—ἰδόντι δέ—; 10, 1; 150, 2).
The Labyrinth (II, 148, 1).
Chemmis (II, 91).
Thebes (II, 3, 1; 55; 143).
Elephantine (II, 29, 1).

He also speaks in general terms of his visits to the following districts :

Three days' journey south of Moeris (II, 5, 1 (implied by ἰδόντι δέ); 10, 1).
Lower Egypt (II, 10, 1; 12, 1; 15, 2).
Upper Egypt (II, 8, 3; 10, 1).
Western Desert (II, 12, 1; 125, 6; 127, 1).

It will be observed that the number of sites visited in Lower Egypt is greater than that in Upper Egypt in the proportion 8 : 5 and that general references to Lower Egypt, if we include the Western Desert,[44] are also more numerous. This suggests a longer stay in the north than the south, an indication which tends to be confirmed by the fact that the centre of gravity of Egyptian culture and political life had by Herodotus' time long lain in the north. It will further be observed that Herodotus' travels in the Delta covered the whole area. Sais lay on the Bolbitinic Branch while Chemmis was situated at or near Western Buto (Tell el Farâʿîn) on the Sebennytic Branch in the extreme north within easy reach of Sais. Papremis probably lay west of the Canopic Branch rather more than half way between Memphis and the sea. A large number of Delta sites visited lay on or near the Pelusiac Branch—Heliopolis, Bubastis, Eastern Buto (Tell Faraʿun) and Pelusium. All these cities are within easy reach of what were probably the two major Delta waterways.

No-one has ever denied that Herodotus travelled in the Delta but the reality of the voyage in Upper Egypt has been assailed.[45] This thesis was attacked by Sourdille over 60 years ago [46] and has since fallen into general disfavour but it still needs discussion here because the French

[44] The area in question is clearly that around Giza opposite Memphis and, therefore, in the latitude of the First Nome of Lower Egypt.

[45] Vide n. II, 29.

[46] Op. cit., p. 100 ff.

scholar's assault was full of misapprehensions and the view has recently been resurrected by Schwartz.[47] It is based on omissions and inaccuracies actually or allegedly occurring in Herodotus' account of Upper Egypt of which the following are the most important :

I. The inaccuracies of his description of Upper Egypt :

II, 5, 1. There is no change in the alluvial character of the soil 3 days above the Lake of Moeris.

II, 8. Egypt does not get wider 4 days above Heliopolis and the valley nowhere attains a width of 200 stades, though Herodotus claims that here it was at its narrowest.

II, 9. Heliopolis-Thebes is a journey of considerably more than 9 days' sail.

II, 19. The valley of the Nile is nowhere 2 days' sail broad on either side of the river.

Such errors, it is argued, could not have been made if Herodotus had visited Upper Egypt.

II. Omissions are :

II, 29. Herodotus fails to correct the story told to him by the γραμματιστὴς τῶν ἱρῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίης that the Nile rose at Elephantine between two hills called Krophi and Mophi. Therefore, Herodotus could not have gone as far as Elephantine.

Thebes. If Herodotus had visited Upper Egypt he would have given us a much more elaborate account of Thebes.

The case based on these considerations falls for several reasons :

1. Inaccuracies are easily explained if we bear in mind the difficulties which Herodotus must have encountered in gathering and retaining information for ultimate publication. This is the attitude of Sourdille but in no single case can I agree with his solutions (vide nn. ad loc.).

2. As for omissions, failure to correct the account of the scribe can

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[47] "Hérodote et l'Égypte", *RA* 6 Series 37 (1951), p. 143 ff.

easily be explained (vide n. ad loc.) as can the absence of a description of Thebes (vide n. II, 29, 1).

3. The trouble taken by Herodotus to indicate the character of his work and the principles on which it is to be carried out together with frequent mention of sources creates an impression of thorough intellectual integrity, an impression which is strengthened rather than weakened by continual reading of his work.[48] It is surely incredible that such a man would tell a series of bare-faced lies. If he said he went to Upper Egypt, he went!

We can therefore accept that Herodotus traversed the entire length of Upper Egypt calling at Moeris, the Labyrinth, Chemmis, Thebes and Elephantine at the very least.

II. *Inference*

Inference is only admissible when we can establish a high degree of probability that a particular piece of information derives from Herodotus himself. We must face the facts squarely that there was so much material available both written and oral and that Herodotus' artistry was so great that inference can be a treacherous guide and one used only with the greatest circumspection. Cases where the present writer feels able to use it are very few indeed :

(a) *The character of the information on a specific area*

1. Herodotus probably had some acquaintance with all the Branches of the Nile, particularly the Bolbitinic and Bucolic :

(a) He certainly knew the Delta.
(b) Pseudo-Scylax and, therefore, Hecataeus spoke of all the mouths as being natural. It is likely that Herodotus' correction is based on ὄψις as that in II, 8 almost certainly is.[49]

2. It is probable that Herodotus had made a sea journey to Egypt :

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[48] Vide infra, p. 81 ff.
[49] Vide n. ad loc.

(a) II, 12, 1 Herodotus mentions that he had seen the coast protruding from the surrounding land.

(b) The discussion of the sea bottom in II, 5, 2 is one of the τεκμήρια designed to substantiate Hecataeus' observation of the alluvial character of the Delta. These τεκμήρια are Herodotus' own and all are probably based on ὄψις.[50]

(b) *Known facts about the Greeks in Egypt*

Herodotus never claims to have visited Naucratis but since it was the great centre of Greek life in Egypt, it is almost beyond belief that he did not. This is made all the more likely by his familiarity with the Canopic Branch [51] and the city of Sais which lies only about 10 miles from Naucratis as the crow flies.[52]

(c) *The Geography of Egypt*

The geographical structure of Egypt imposes a pattern on any voyage. A Greek could enter Greece or Asia Minor from any point of the compass and cross it in any direction but Egypt in the nature of things he could only enter from the Delta. Herodotus must, therefore, have travelled from north to south and then back.

The conclusions of this examination are as follows. Herodotus came to Egypt by sea but we cannot tell whether he ascended the Nile *via* the Canopic or Pelusiac Branch. Much of his travelling in the Delta was determined by these two branches. In Upper Egypt he travelled as far as Elephantine and either going or returning visited the Fayyûm where he saw the Labyrinth and Memphis. In the latter city he spent a great deal of time. Beyond these statements we cannot reasonably go. A detailed itinerary such as that devised by Sourdille [53] and accepted by Spiegelberg [54] cannot, in the nature of our evidence, be reconstructed.

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[50] Vide infra, p. 137.
[51] Vide supra, p. 72 ff.
[52] Vide n. II, 178.
[53] Op. cit., p. 247 ff.
[54] Op. cit., p. 15.

CHAPTER THREE

SOURCES

I. Generalities

Knowledge on the subject matter of Herodotus' *Αἰγύπτιος λόγος*—ethnography, natural history, geography, geology, history, antiquities—can only be acquired in two ways, either by hearsay, under which heading we may include the printed word, or by autopsy. The assimilation of such information is, however, conditioned by the character of the individual mind which will comprehend the data within its own terms of reference, fit them neatly into its own set of concepts and record them in that form. Such a process is dangerous enough when information is reasonably full but all too often the evidence is inadequate for the immediate formation of a satisfactory picture and matter from the store of the individual's general experience will be used to bridge gaps and create a coherent framework.

Hearsay is obviously more subject to distortion than autopsy; for even before a particular piece of hearsay information reaches the point of being assimilated by a particular individual it may have been subjected to considerable modification from a variety of causes. It may have been filtered through and processed by several minds. It may have been transmitted over a considerable distance in time and space, shedding fragments and acquiring débris as it passes. It may have been subjected to the searing process of transmutation from one language to another, a factor which can have catastrophic consequences; for language is a social phenomenon and in any particular case is developed to satisfy the needs of a particular culture. It is, therefore, the instrument for expressing a distinctive body of concepts and, as such, reflects a particular world view. It follows from this that translation is not simply the interchange of one set of phonetic symbols for another but the attempt to correlate concepts and conditions of one society with those of another and must involve a continual compromise and often falsification, however unconscious that may be.[1]

[1] The great importance of this factor in misunderstanding primitive customs is emphasized by Evans-Pritchard, *Theories of Primitive Religion*, Oxford, 1965, p. 11 ff.

Autopsy is not so subject to distortion as hearsay because the facts are processed by one mind alone whereas with hearsay they must pass through two at least. The major problem is to see the whole and, if that condition is fulfilled, the only factor which falsifies the record is the mental processing.

Let us take some examples of the interaction of these factors, bearing in mind that in any particular case it is often impossible to determine whether a writer is using matter based on autopsy or ἀκοή.

Herodotus (I, 105) and Hippocrates (*De Aer* XXII) both speak of a strange group of men among the Scythians called *Ἀναριεῖς*/*Ἐνάρεες*. They are aristocrats, dress as women, do women's work and are afflicted with impotence. Their condition is claimed by Herodotus to be the consequence of the desecration of the temple of the Heavenly Aphrodite at Ascalon, while Hippocrates attributes it to therapy employed in Scythia to cure riding sores.

The fact behind all this is that amongst the Scythians there were shamans who dressed and functioned in all possible respects as women [2] and who, being like all genuine shamans psychotically disturbed, were regarded as divinely possessed. As intermediaries between this world and that of the spirits they were accorded great respect (Autopsy/Hearsay). From this point, however, the facts are processed by two very different minds with strikingly different results. Herodotus regards their state as a punishment from the gods (Individual Attitude) [3] and asks which deity is involved. In the nature of the affliction it ought to be a goddess and, since he knew of a Heavenly Aphrodite in Ascalon and also that the Scythians had invaded the area, he combines all the facts and presents us with the history of the *Ἐνάρεες* of I, 105. Elements of Hippocrates' account can also be explained in a similar way. As part of his data he also was told that the affliction of the men in question was god-sent and processed the fact very much within his own terms of reference. Typically

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[2] Meuli, "Scythica", *Hermes* 70 (1935), p. 121 ff. ~ Marg, *Herodot, Wege der Forschung*, XXVI, Darmstadt, 1965, p. 455 ff.

[3] The doctrine of *πίσις* strikingly evident I, 1-5, 13 and characteristic of the thought of Hesiod and Solon (Solmsen, *Hesiod and Aeschylus*, New York, 1949, pp. 26, 82ff., 107 ff.).

he insists that the phenomenon has purely natural causes [4] (Individual Attitude). Folk medicine and the prowess of Scythian horsemen suggest that saddle sores bore the ultimate responsibility (Inference). The fact that riding was an essential prerequisite suggested, to a Greek, that only an aristocrat could be a member of this class (*τοῦτο δὲ πάσχουσι Σκυθέων ... οὐ γὰρ ἱππάζονται*) (Greek Social Conditions). Certainly there is no shred of evidence that such shamans would be confined to one social division.

Herodotus falls into a similar trap when he describes (IV, 44) the naval expedition of Scylax of Caryanda down the Indus (Hearsay). The information is excellent but he then foists onto the Great King as the motive for sending him a distinctly Hellenic spirit of enquiry (Greek attitudes), though, surprisingly enough, the real reason—military reconnaissance—is recognized at the end of the chapter.

Excellent information obtained by Hearsay/Autopsy is again badly contaminated in IV, 71 ff. where he gives a detailed and highly accurate description of what is done at the burial of a Scythian King but the last act he misinterprets as a rite of purification on the basis of Greek customs in such matters. It was, in fact, a shamanistic ritual in which the shaman worked himself into a trance in order to divorce his spirit from the body and guide the soul of the deceased to the land of the dead.[5]

The effect of distance from the observed phenomenon is admirably illustrated by Herodotus' tradition on winter night (IV, 25, 1) (Hearsay). Since in their experience night means sleep, Greeks concluded that the inhabitants of the far north must have slept for six months. Another example, again in the *Σκυθικὸς λόγος* is observable in IV, 13 where the further north the description proceeds, the vaguer and more fabulous it becomes.

The effects of temporal distance can be equally severe and are excellently illustrated in the development of the Greek tradition on the Ethiopians in which the vague data of Homer (*Od* I, 22-25) evolve gradually over several centuries into the elaborate and virtually canonical doctrine that there were two sets of Ethiopians, one in the East and one in the West.[6]

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[4] *ἕκαστον δὲ αὐτῶν* (sc. *παθέων*) *ἔχει φύσιν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ καὶ οὐδὲν ἄνευ φύσιος γίνεται.* This doctrine is developed above all in *Morb. Sacr.*

[5] Meuli, op. cit., p. 456 ff.

[6] Gisinger, *RE* XXI, 2384 ff.

An excellent modern example of the interaction of autopsy or hearsay with the social attitudes of a foreign commentator to create a completely false picture is quoted in Chambers' biography of Sir Thomas More.[7] It derives from the report which an Italian diplomat sent home to Venice c. 1500 and criticizes the ancient chivalric custom still followed in his time by the English of putting out children of noble-birth to service in the households of great men. The description shows correct observation contaminated by a total misunderstanding of the practice and an interpretation based entirely on the customs of the writers' social milieu.

> "The want of affection in the English is strongly manifested towards their children; for after having kept them at home till they arrive at the age of seven or nine years at the utmost, they put them out, both males and females, to hard service in the house of other people... And few are born who are exempted from this fate, for every one, however rich he may be, sends away his children into the houses of others, while he, in return, receives those of strangers into his own.
> "And on enquiring their reason for this severity, they answered that they did it in order that their children might learn better manners. But I, for may part, believe that they do it because they like to enjoy all their comforts themselves, and that they are better served by strangers than they would be by their own children. Besides which the English being great epicures, and very avaricious by nature, indulge in the most delicate fare themselves, and give their household the coarsest bread, and beer, and cold meat baked on Sunday for the week, which, however, they allow them in great abundance. If they had their own children at home, they would be obliged to give them the same food they make use of for themselves".

In all these cases the basic data have been intricately enmeshed in a web of inference, misapprehension and false *Kombinationen* which have resulted in an entirely distorted account where fact and assumption are presented on entirely equal terms. It so happens that in these examples it is possible to disentangle the various elements and isolate truth and falsehood but we must always make allowance in our reading of Greek ethnographers and historians for the possibility that we may have before us many similar cases where we are unable to isolate the facts with such gratifying confidence. Where there are no controls at all we may easily be accepting at the foot of the letter material which is the end-product

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[7] Chambers, *Thomas More*, Harmondsworth, 1963, p. 54 ff. from Sneyd, *A Relation of the Island of England*, London, 1847, p. 24 ff.

of a long process of contamination. A further disconcerting consideration is the fact that it is perfectly possible for a whole series of such hybrid pieces of information to arise and be used as the beacons for orientating the scholar, both ancient and modern, in sparsely documented fields and when that happens we may well get a coherent and superficially plausible narrative such as, to take historical examples, the early books of Livy's *History* [8] or the tradition of the Atthidographers,[9] which are, nevertheless, badly misleading and often totally false.

If we bear in mind these factors, it must be evident that a completely accurate tradition on ethnographical and historical matter could be obtained only with the greatest difficulty and the highest degree of circumspection simply because the original experience or fact is subject to such a wide variety of influences which inevitably qualify its assimilation and transmission. Making allowance for the problems is difficult enough even for a researcher in the Twentieth Century but to an ancient scholar, without the benefit of centuries of mistakes, the wide range of information and greater psychological awareness of his modern counterpart, it was well nigh impossible. To expect pin-point accuracy of Herodotus would be absurd. We must rather read him with the sure conviction that there are errors, errors which will in many cases be undetectable and in others so complex and deep-rooted that a definitive solution will never be possible. It cannot be emphasized too strongly that all study of this writer must proceed in full awareness of the difficulties which he and his informants inevitably encountered in transmitting an accurate account of a particular event or phenomenon to another person. It is to Herodotus' abiding credit that he had more than an inkling of these difficulties and had done his utmost to circumvent them. For this he had forged a powerful, if not infallible weapon viz. ἱστορίη.

II. ἱστορίη

The cardinal importance of ἱστορίη to the *Histories* emerges in the very first line where the work is described as the ἱστορίης ἀπόδεξις "the publication of the enquiry". At first sight the meaning of ἱστορίη

[8] Ogilvie, *A Commentary on Livy Books 1-5*, Oxford, 1965, passim.

[9] Jacoby, *Atthis*, Oxford, 1949, p. 149 ff.; Ruschenbusch, *ΣΟΛΩΝΟΣ NOMOI Historia Einzelschriften* 9 (1966), p. VII.

is a problem. In all cases in Book II where it is possible to pass judgement the word and its cognates mean "verbal enquiry" and personal questioning of authorities is frequently mentioned. In this case, however, the entire work is described as the result of ἱστορίη. What does it mean? Two alternatives present themselves :

1. Since ὄψις, ἀκοή and γνώμη are mentioned alongside ἱστορίη as important sources,[10] more than verbal enquiry is involved in building up the information on which the *Histories* are based. Therefore, the word is used in the secondary sense of "investigation" irrespective of means.
2. Oral enquiry plays such an important part in his work that Herodotus can use the word ἱστορίη in its basic sense and ignore the other techniques of acquiring information.

Since the secondary meaning is found already in Hippocrates in a work dating probably c. 430 B.C.,[11] it seems reasonable to adopt the first alternative without, however, denying that, amongst the methods of pursuing enquiry, oral questioning plays by far the most important rôle.[12] Having established this point we may make the following deductions. First, since enquiry presupposes by its nature a basis of knowledge Herodotus started with a body of information which he wished to check by investigation, particularly by questioning people who he had good reason to believe knew the truth. Second, he tried to extend his knowledge by the same means. Third, we should remember that the implications of the word ἱστορίη are such that its use at the very beginning of the work constitutes an emphatic statement of Herodotus' autonomy in the

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[10] Vide infra, p. 84 ff.

[11] *VM* 20.

[12] For the development of the word ἱστορίη see Snell, *Die Ausdrücke für den Begriff des Wissens in der vorplatonischen Philosophie. Philologische Untersuchungen* 29, Berlin, 1924; Keuck, *Historia. Geschichte des Wortes und seiner Bedeutungen in der Antike und den romanischen Sprachen*, Münster, 1934; Barth, "Einwirkung der vorsokratischen Philosophie auf die Herausbildung der historiographischen Methoden Herodots", *Neue Beitr. zur Gesch. der Alten Welt. Zweite Internationale Tagung der Fachgruppe Alte Geschichte der Deutschen Historiker-Gesellschaft vom 4 bis 8 September 1962 in Stralsund*, I, Berlin, 1964, p. 173.

collection of material.[13] Fourth, since the word has scientific overtones, we should expect it, especially in such a position, to indicate that the entire work was composed according to scientific principles. In fact Herodotus' enquiry is pursued in an astoundingly scientific spirit. Ἱστορίη was, to him, the instrument for discovering the truth and he was, therefore, extremely anxious to make clear to his audience how he had arrived at his results and presents them with information which would enable them to judge the matter for themselves. This has at least four corollaries :

(a) He shows great care in indicating sources both in Book II (II, 29, 1; 50 ff.; 99; 142; 147; 154, 4; note II, 126, 1 for a statement of the lacuna in sources) and elsewhere (e.g. I, 1 ff.; the Σκυθικὸς λόγος IV, 5 ff.).
(b) He shows great circumspection in cross-checking information (II, 2-3; 43).
(c) He states the principles of pursuing his investigations (II, 123, 1; VII, 152, 3). It is a natural expression of this method that he should give the result of his enquiry even when he is not convinced of the truth of the report.
(d) Where ἱστορίη is impossible he refuses to make statements (II, 3). Note that the violation of this principle in II, 122 immediately excites pangs of conscience in II, 123.

Having thus laid bare the crucial implications of the concept of ἱστορίη we can now turn to the examination of its workings in the practical business of writing history and in this we must distinguish between stated and unstated sources. In the writer's consciousness the first loom much larger because they are his techniques for pursuing the all important process of ἱστορίη. Unstated sources, primarily literary, necessarily slip into the background in his mind; for even where he has a predecessor, the information derived from him would not simply

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[13] These conclusions compel us to regard as at the least exaggerated the belief of Jacoby (*RE* VII, 2677-2678) that emphasis on personal *Erkündigung* indicates borrowing from Hecataeus. Herodotus' autonomy is also emphasized by Vogt, "Herodot im Ägypten", *Genethliakon Wilhelm Schmid. Tübinger Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft* 5, Stuttgart, 1929, p. 98 ff. ~ Marg, *Herodot. Wege der Forschung XXVI*, Darmstadt, 1965, p. 413 ff.

be incorporated into his work wholesale but investigated, verified and often modified by himself so that, in a very real sense, Herodotus can regard the matter derived from them as having become his own personal property.[14]

III. Stated Sources

The stated means of pursuing ἱστορίη are :

ὄψις γνώμη ἱστορίη[15]	II, 99, 1. Important for chapters 1-98 which are largely concerned with Egypt as it was in Herodotus' time.

ἀκοή	Αἰγύπτιοι	"Eg. traditions" (II, 99; 147). Important for
	λόγοι	II, 99 ff. This section is concerned with Egypt's past. They are all-important up to II, 146, at which point other material becomes available.
	οἱ ἄλλοι	(II, 147) From the Dodecarchy onwards.
	ἄνθρωποι	Clearly he means largely —
	οἱ Ἕλληνες	(II, 154, 4) From the time of Psammetichus I the Greeks have had first-hand information.

Let us analyse these techniques a little more closely.
ὄψις "Autopsy". It operates in II, 1-98 for

(a) φύσις τῆς χωρῆς

II, 5, 1; 10, 1.	Alluvial nature of Egypt as far as Moeris.
II, 8, 3.	Width of the valley south of Memphis.
II, 12, 1.	Protruding Delta, shells and salt on the western desert.
II, 29, 1.	District of Elephantine.

(b) Νόμοι

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[14] In general vide Wikarjak, "APXAI Herodota", *Meander* 14 (1959), p. 271 ff.; id., "Ramy Geograficzne Dziejow Herodota", ib., p. 539 ff.

[15] Here obviously "oral enquiry".

II, 44, 2.	Description of the temple of Herakles at Tyre.
II, 44, 4.	Description of the shrine of Herakles at Thasos. Both are part of the discussion of Egyptian religious ideas and their relevance to Greek concepts.
II, 73, 1.	The picture of the φοῖνιξ.
II, 75, 1.	Verification of the tale of the flying snakes at Buto.
II, 91.	Description of Chemmis, probably.

Subsequently it is used :

II, 106, 1.	The stelae in Syria-Palestine. Archaeological proof of the extension of Sesostris' conquests.
II, 125, 6; 127, 1.	Description of the Pyramids.
II, 131, 3.	Rejection of the tradition on Mycerinus' daughter and the wooden statues.
II, 137, 5.	Bubastis description. Substantiation of the Sesostris tradition.
II, 143, 3.	To verify the tradition of Hecataeus and the Theban priests.
II, 148.	To describe the Labyrinth as part of the historical section on the Dodecarchs.
II, 150, 2.	Examination of L. Moeris.
II, 170, 2.	Description of the sights of Sais. This forms part of the discussion of Apries.
III, 12.	Battle-fields of Pelusium and Papremis. The relative thickness of Persian and Egyptian skulls.

Book II contains two very fine examples of data gained by ὄψις which have been almost completely misunderstood and presented in a form which is totally misleading. We cannot, unfortunately, be certain who was responsible but, since it is perfectly possible that it was Herodotus, we have some justification in discussing them in this subsection.

The first example occurs in II, 92, 4 where we are given a description of the Rose Lotus which creates the impression that the plant has two flowers and that one of these only contains a seed vessel. In fact, all flowers of the Rose Lotus contain seed vessels but Herodotus, or his source, has clearly seen a clump of them, some of which presented the

calyx in such a way as to reveal the seed vessel while others showed the flowers at an angle where the seed vessel was concealed. This will appear all the easier when we remember that the petals of the Rose Lotus flowers fall at quite an uneven rate and in any one clump some flowers might be virtually stripped of petals while others had lost none at all.[16]

The second example is found in II, 93, 1-4 where we find a curious description of the breeding habits of fish described as *οἱ ἰχθύες οἱ ἀγελαῖοι*. This section is based, in fact, on the breeding habits of the Nile bream which have been correctly observed but, in the process of assimilation, totally misunderstood. The male bream begins by enticing a female to a suitable spot by an elaborate courtship dance and then emits seminal fluid which is taken into the female's mouth. She then lays eggs which she also takes into her mouth and there they are fertilized and incubated until the young are born. They are then let out.

Herodotus, or his source, overlays this with several assumptions. The first error is the conviction that the fish migrated to the sea. The second is to assume that, since no mother would eat its young, they must be devoured by the male. Furthermore, since there are Nile bream in existence, it is argued that they can only be those who have escaped the predatory males. The result is the curiously garbled account in Herodotus II, 93. We should, however, emphasize that in this case contamination is particularly easy, first because a lengthy process is involved and secondly because the process is biological and permits specious analogies with human life history.[17]

γνώμη "opinion" i.e. conclusions based on survey and analysis of the material on a particular point where a sure answer is not available, though varying degrees of confidence are possible from *γνώμη* to *γνώμη*. Its use is often indicated by *δοκέω et sim.* and frequently in the earlier section related to polemic against the Ionians *in primis* Hecataeus.

II, 2, 5. Experiment of Psammetichus. Herodotus choses one version rather than another for reasons which can be determined (vide n. ad. loc).

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[16] Further n. ad loc.

[17] Further n. ad loc.

II, 4, 1. Superiority of the Egyptian Calendar (not completely understood by Herodotus). ἐμοὶ δοκέειν.

II, 5, 1; 10, 1-14. Correctness of the priests' view of the growth of the land of Egypt. γνώμη based on ὄψις and ἀκοή (ἐδόκεον). For the argument cf. infra p. 137 ff.; n. ad loc.

II, 6, 1; 15-18. Herodotus' definition of Egypt (κατὰ ἡμεῖς διαιρέομεν). Polemic here. For the argument on which γνώμη is based vide n. ad loc.

II, 19-27. The sources of the Nile. Herodotus' opinion is given in the course of demolishing the γνώμαι of others. Note that here γνώμη is associated with ἀφανέα, undoubtedly the sphere to which Herodotus regards γνώμη as belonging.

II, 28, 2. Evaluation of reliability of the Saite scribe. Note, however, that he does recount the tradition at length in accordance with the principle stated in II, 123, 1 and VII, 152, 3.

II, 33-4. The course of the Nile (συμβάλλομαι ; δοκέω).

II, 42, 5. Origin of the name of the Ammonians (δοκέειν δέ μοι).

II, 43, 3. Proof of the non-Egyptian origin of Poseidon and the Dioscuri (ἐμὴ γνώμη αἱρέει).

II, 44, 5. Dual nature of Herakles (δοκέουσι δέ μοι).

II, 45, 2. Analysis of the Busiris Legend which is rejected by a πίστις κατὰ τὸ ἦθος. (ἐμοὶ μέν νυν δοκέουσι ...)

II, 49, 1. The origins of Melampus (ἤδη ὦν δοκέει μοι ; πύθεσθαι δέ μοι δοκέει).

II, 50, 1. Origins of the Egyptian gods (δοκέω δ'ὦν ; οὗτοι δέ μοι δοκέουσι).

II, 56, 1. Attitude to the origins of the Dodonian Oracle (ἐγὼ δ'ἔχω περὶ αὐτῶν γνώμην τήνδε. Note that δοκέει follows soon after). For the argument vide infra, p. 162. ff.; n. II, 56.

II, 58. Egyptian origin of festivals (τεκμήριον δέ μοι). Here the use of τεκμήριον indicates a high degree of confidence but φαίνονται suggests that it is not complete.

II, 77, 3. Effects of climate on the Egyptians (τῶν ὡρέων ἐμοὶ δοκέειν ...) cf. 35, 2. Vide Introduction, p. 165 ff.; n. ad loc.

II, 93, 6. Reason for the appearance of the small fish in ponds along the Nile at the time of the inundation (ἐγώ μοι δοκέω κατανοέειν τοῦτο).

Herodotus only speaks of γνώμη as a factor before Ch. 99 (II, 99, 1). The reason is obvious enough. He recognized that from that point he was going to be dealing largely with Egyptian tradition of one form or another and would very rarely be in a position to judge its veracity. Nevertheless the workings of γνώμη are in evidence after II, 99 from time to time where he feels that enough firm evidence is available to justify it.

II, 103, 1. Herodotus' opinion on the furthest N. of Sesostris (ἐς τούτους δέ μοι δοκέει). The proof is archaeological.

II, 104, 1. The Egyptian origin of the Colchians (φαίνονται). An elaborate series of anthropological proofs is used.

II, 109, 3. Sesostris' surveying activities were the origins of geometry (δοκέει δέ μοι).

II, 116. The tradition of the Egyptian voyage of Helen was known to Homer (δοκέει δέ μοι ...).

II, 120. Herodotus' additions to the Egyptian priests on the tradition of Helen in Egypt (*sub fin.* we have καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τῇ ἐμοὶ δοκέει εἴρηται)

II, 131, 3. Rejection of tradition on the basis of ὄψις (ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω).

II, 134-5. Attack on the tradition that Rhodopis built the Third Pyramid (φαίνονται). Here, of course, Herodotus is dealing with Greek traditions and the disability implied in II, 99 does not operate.

II, 146. The antiquity of Dionysus and Herakles (γνώμη ἀποδέδεκται). The reason for inclusion is the same as II, 134-5.

ἱστορίη "oral enquiry".[18] In this sense the word and its cognates occur in the following passages in Bk. II :

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[18] Vide supra, p. 81 ff. for this word.

II, 19, 3. Investigation amongst the Egyptians concerning the reasons for the eccentric behaviour of the Nile (*ἱστορέων αὐτούς*).

II, 29, 1. Investigation concerning the country south of the First Cataract (*ἀκοῇ ... ἱστορέων*). This case shows the close relationship between *ἀκοή* and *ἱστορίη*.

II, 34, 1. The course of the Nile examined by enquiry. This harks back to II, 29, 1 (*ἐπ' ὅσον μακρότατον ἱστορεῦντα ἦν ἐξίκεσθαι*).

II, 44, 5. The results of Herodotus' enquiries in Egypt, Thasos and Tyre on the nature of Herakles (*τὰ μέν νυν ἱστορημένα*).

II, 113, 1. The tradition on Helen was investigated by enquiry among the Egyptian priests (*ἔλεγον δέ μοι οἱ ἱρέες ἱστορέοντι τὰ περὶ Ἑλένην γένεσθαι ὧδε*).

II, 119, 3. The Egyptian priests' information on Helen and Menelaus in Egypt derives *ἱστορίῃσι* on their own admission (*τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν ἱστορίῃσι*).

This method of gathering information is of great importance throughout Herodotus' work and is used in Bk. II for geographical and mythological difficulties where he has reason to believe that he has before him men who ought to know the truth.

ἀκοή "hearsay".[19] By this word we must understand what Herodotus himself had heard. He makes a general distinction :

(a) Egyptians (*Αἰγύπτιοι ; Αἰγύπτιοι λόγοι*).

(b) Non-Egyptians (*οἱ ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι*). These are obviously in most cases *οἱ Ἕλληνες* who are frequently mentioned as such.

(a) Egyptians

(I) *οἱ ἱρέες*

Herodotus "hears" above all from the Egyptian priests of various shrines :

Heliopolis (II, 3, 1). *Ἡλιοπολῖται* clearly means them.

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[19] *LSJ* p. 51, b, s.v. *ἀκοή* passim; Powell, *Lexicon*, Cambridge, 1938, p. 10, b, s.v. *ἀκοή* 2.

II, 73, 1 (ὡς Ἡλιοπολῖται λέγουσι) is probably to be interpreted in the same way.[20]

Thebes (II, 3, 1; 54 passim; 55; 143). The last reference shows us that Hecataeus had also had access to this source of information.

Memphis (II, 2, 5; 3, 1).

Sais (II, 28, 1). The Scribe of the Treasury of Athena (Neith). It is possible, however, that Herodotus did not regard him as a ἱρεύς.[21]

General (οἱ ἱρέες) (II, 10, 1; 13, 1; 19, 1; 99-142). It is possible to deduce who are meant in individual cases :

(a) II, 10, 1; 13, 1; 19, 1. The context makes it clear that these priests are those mentioned in II, 3, 1 i.e. the Priests of Heliopolis, Thebes and Memphis.

(b) II, 99-142. The source here is almost certainly the Priests of Memphis :

1. II, 100, 1 proves that one particular institution and one particular group of priests are responsible for the historical information.

2. The marked Lower Egyptian bias of their statements. There is, in particular, a great deal of information on Memphis, especially the Temple of Ptaḥ/Hephaestus and its προπύλαια and the kings discussed are in most cases those associated with Lower Egypt. Since the historical tradition of districts of Egypt tends to be determined markedly by their political affinities and King Lists vary according to the community producing them,[22] a Lower Egyptian source is very likely.

The information gleaned from the priests may be classified, in modern rather than Egyptian categories, as follows :

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[20] Jacoby (*RE* VII, 2677) considers this case an example of Herodotus' referring to Hecataeus while giving Hecataeus' original source according to normal Greek practice. The parallel of II, 3, 1 and Herodotus' certain visit to Heliopolis are against his view. This is not, however, to deny Hecataean influence here (vide infra, p. 128).

[21] In Greece ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων were not ἱερεῖς (Arist., *Pol* VI, 5, 11 (1322b); Stengel, *Griechische Kultusaltertümer*, Munich, 1920, p. 48). Spiegelberg's idea (*Die Glaubwürdigkeit von Herodots Bericht über Ägypten im Lichte der ägyptischen Denkmäler. OA* 3 (1926), p. 18) that this passage gives an indication of the general status of Herodotus' priests thus lacks force. In any case, it could only be an index if one has started with the *a priori* assumption that the priests were of low rank.

[22] Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, Oxford, 1961, p. 50.

(a) Religion. II, 4, 2. Priority of the Egyptians in naming the 12 gods and in instituting ἀγάλματα, altars and shrines.

II, 73 the tradition of the Phoenix.

(b) Verification of Greek tradition. II, 3, 1. The experiment of Psammetichus to determine the oldest people.

II, 54-55. The tradition of the priests of Thebes on the Theban origin of the Oracle of Zeus at Dodona. Here Herodotus had probably come to Egypt with a tradition which he is checking there.

(c) Culture. II, 4, 1. The Egyptians were the discoverers of the year and inventors of the division into 12 months. This was achieved on the basis of astronomical observation.

II, 4, 2. The Egyptians were the first to carve reliefs in stone.

(d) Historical tradition of Egypt. II, 4, 3; II, 99, 2-4. Menes, the first king of Egypt, and his achievements.

II, 100-141. Historical summary down to Sethôs.

II, 143. Chronology of Egypt and the relationship of human and divine dynasties.

II, 144. The dynasties of the gods.

(e) Geography. II, 4, 3; II, 10, 1. The alluvial nature of the north of Egypt.

II, 13, 1. The height of the inundation in the time of King Moeris.

II, 19, 1. Inability to get information from the priests on the reasons for the inundation.

II, 28. The Scribe of Sais on the πηγαί of the Nile.[23]

Only this information is explicitly stated to be derived personally by Herodotus from Egyptian priests. Although the discussions of the priesthood (II, 35, 4; 37, 2-5), sacrifice (II, 38-42, 45 with nn. ad loc.), festivals (II, 59-64) and sacred animals (II, 65-76), with the sole exception of the discussion of the Phoenix (II, 73 vide supra), are excellent, Herodotus does not state that they derive from priestly sources. Hence in any discussion of the precise nature of these priests they must be left aside. We are allowed to base ourselves only on our tabulated cases. Let us now proceed to an evaluation of the matter in question in an attempt to establish the precise status of Herodotus' priestly informants.

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[23] See, however, p. 90 supra.

(a) Religion. Although strange at first sight, the statement that the Egyptians named the twelve gods can easily be explained by assuming that the priests had stated that members of the Heliopolitan Ennead had given their names to members of the Greek group of Twelve Gods, names which Herodotus was convinced came from Egypt. He will then have understood them to mean that the names of all the twelve gods came from there. Alternatively we might argue that this error had been made before Herodotus and that the idea of the names' passing from Egypt to Greece may have been implanted in Egypt by Greeks and assimilated by Egyptians, ready to be re-hashed to any inquisitive traveller who might like to ask (vide nn. II, 4, 2; II, 43, 2).

The assertions about ἀγάλματα and νηοί would find ample support in annalistic documents such as the Palermo Stone (vide n. II, 4, 2). Altars are not mentioned but might easily have been added for good measure by Herodotus' informants. Such assertions of religious priority are likely enough in an Egyptian priest.

The Phoenix tradition finds ample confirmation from extant Egyptian sources (II, 73 with n. ad loc.).

(b) Verification of Greek Tradition. The experiment of Psammetichus (II, 2). This tale certainly existed in some form before Herodotus' time and is demonstrably Greek in origin. This cannot, however, be taken as proof that Herodotus could not have found knowledge of it amongst the Egyptian priests. It would, in fact, commend itself to them because it shows the discomfiture of a king whom the priests had good reason to dislike and, in any case, would satisfy the well known taste for satire of the great found in ancient Egypt. It certainly removed them from the position of priority which we should expect them to assert (vide supra) but there is no reason to believe that they gave the tale any credence whatsoever as an historical document. Herodotus may have come to them and said, "Do you know this λόγος?" and then told them the version he accepted. If this were the version current in Egypt, they would have replied simply "Yes" but such an admission would commit them to no historical statement (vide n. II, 3).

A similar situation obtained with regard to the Dodona tradition (II, 54-55). The belief in the Theban origins of this centre and, doubtless, a tale to explain them, was already current in Greece in the early Fifth Century. Herodotus may have come armed with this tradition and, by

a series of leading questions, and with the assistance of the cultural arrogance of the Egyptian priests (vide supra), could have extracted the confirmation he required (vide nn. ad loc.).

(c) Culture. The Egyptians' willingness to assert cultural priority has already been mentioned. As for the calendar (II, 4, 1), this is a subject on which priests would be well informed. The calendar in question is the Civil Calendar which was the scheme used for the vast majority of festivals and it did have an astronomical origin, a fact none but ἱρέες λογιώτατοι could reasonably be expected to know. All the statements about the calendar are not correct but then all of them do not derive from the priests (vide n. ad loc.). The temporal priority of Egyptian sculpture in stone (II, 4, 2), if not specifically relief, could find confirmation in documents like the Palermo Stone; for not only are statues of gods mentioned but also statues of members of the royal family. Furthermore, sculptures were of considerable interest to Egyptian priests, particularly those of Memphis, the head of whose priesthood was called "Chief Craftsman" and it should be borne firmly in mind that all sculpture served a religious function of some sort (vide n. ad loc.).

(d) Historical tradition of Egypt. The *Grundriß* of Egyptian history down to Sethos. Nearly all the major periods got some mention—dynasties of the gods (II, 144-5), the Thinite Period (Menes, II, 4; 99), the Old Kingdom (Pyramid builders II, 124-134; Asychis II, 136, 1), the Middle Kingdom (Sesostris II, 102-110; Moeris II, 13, 1; II, 101, 1), the New Kingdom (Rhampsinitus II, 121-122), Ethiopians (II, 100; Sabacos, II, 137). The tradition on Menes, where verifiable, is in substantial agreement with Egyptian sources (nn. II, 4, 2; II, 99); that on Moeris is good,[24] the discussion of the architectural history of the Pyramid

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[24] Moeris is to be identified with Amenemḥēt III of the XIIth Dynasty (Lloyd, "The Egyptian Labyrinth", *JEA* 56 (1970), p. 91 ff.) one of whose major interests was land reclamation in the Fayyûm (Hayes, *CAH* Cambridge, 1961, I, Ch. XX, fasc. 3, p. 48 ff.). This was well known to Herodotus who frequently emphasizes his connection with the Birket Karun (II, 4; 13; 148-9; III, 91). Herodotus also knows of his building activities in the northern part of the Temple of Ptaḥ at Memphis (II, 101, 1; cf. Petrie, *Memphis I*, London, 1909, pl. I, p. 26; id., *Tarkhan I & Memphis V*, London, 1913, p. 32 ff.).

Age is surprisingly precise.[25] Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that from the historical point of view some things in Herodotus' account are profoundly disturbing : [26]

1. The chronology is eccentric. In particular the Pyramid Builders are badly displaced.
2. Sesostris, whose prototype was Senwosret III, did not conquer anything like as much of Asia as Herodotus was told by the priests.[27]
3. *Märchenhaftes* is continually in evidence e.g. in the traditions on Menes (n. II, 99), Nitocris (II, 100, 2-4 with n. ad loc.), Sesostris (II, 107, 2; II, 109), Pheros (II, 111), Rhampsinitus (II, 121-122 a whole series of *Märchenmotive*), Cheops (II, 126), Mycerinus (II, 129-133), Asychis (II, 136, 3-4), Sabacos (I, 139), Anysis (II, 140) and Sethos (II, 141).
4. There is Greek material embedded in the history e.g. the Proteus tradition [28] (II, 112-120) which clearly owes much to Homer. The oracles II, 133 [29] and II, 152, 3 are obviously Greek.
5. The interior of the Pyramid of Cheops is wrongly described (II, 127).
6. Some of the Kings are difficult to identify e.g. Pheros (II, 111).

How could such an innacurate and heterogeneous tradition on Egyptian history derive from the priests? The answer has usually been that the

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[25] Cf. Lauer, *Le Problème des Pyramides d'Égypte*, Paris, 1952, p. 12 ff.

[26] Heidel ("Hecataeus and the Egyptian Priests in Herodotus, Book II", *Mem. Am. Ac. Arts & Sciences* XVIII(2) (1935)) uses these oddities together with information on the caste system (II, 164) and the construction of the Red Sea Canal as examples of material taken over from Hecataeus and mutilated by Herodotus. Herodotus' account of Egyptian history, in Heidel's view, cannot possibly derive from Egyptian priests. It is a garbled rehash of what Hecataeus had derived from them and whenever Herodotus mentions ἱρέες as sources he means his predecessor. In other words, Herodotus is a barefaced liar! For those who require a formal refutation of this thesis Sieveking, *JAW* 363 (1939), p. 137 may be consulted with profit.

[27] The expedition to Shechem in S. Palestine hardly qualifies (Stele of Sobekkhu - Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke*, Hildesheim, 1959, p. 82; Hayes, op. cit., p. 47).

[28] Heidel (op. cit., p. 75 ff.) regards this tale as showing light satire derived from Hecataeus similar to the Psammetichus stories.

[29] Klees, *Die Eigenart des griechischen Glaubens an Orakel und Seher*, Stuttgart, c. 1964, p. 60.

ἱρέες in question are of a very low grade, even *ciceroni*.[30] There is, however, no need to have recourse to such an alternative. The eccentric chronology can easily be explained as an error of Herodotus (vide infra, p. 188 ff.). The faults in the tradition on Sesostris and the folk tale elements, on the other hand, pose, at first sight, greater difficulties. The difficulty, however, arises from a completely mistaken concept of what Egyptian priests, of any grade, were likely to know. We have in fact no justification whatever in assuming, as many earlier critics have tended to do, that the priests would get their history right in any sense in which we should understand the word "right". Two points should be made with the greatest emphasis :

(a) There is no reason to believe that the average priest—*wēb* or even prophet—would know a great deal of the past of his people. He would certainly be familiar with the *mdw nṯr* "the Words of God" i.e. Hieroglyphs.[31] He would have known the ritual of the temple (the instruments to be used, the offerings to be made, the spells to be chanted etc.) and some priests would have had enough astronomical knowledge to determine, by the use of star clocks, the hours of the night to ensure that nocturnal rituals were conducted at the correct times. In fact, the task of the temple and its ministrants, from High Priest to the most junior *wēb* or Hour Priest, was the maintenance of *Maʿat* or the Order of the World. The temple was the god's house (*ḥwt nṯr* "Mansion of the God"; *pr nṯr* "Dwelling of the God"). He dwelt in it as would a great lord, residing in the cult statue, and the activities within the temple were fundamentally concerned with that.[32] It was a sound knowledge of the cult which was required for this,

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[30] Kenrick, *The Egypt of Herodotus*, London, 1841, p. LVIII; Lepsius, *Chronologie der Ägypter*, Berlin, 1849, p. 245 ff.; Maspero, "Sur ... Hérodote", *BE* 7 (1898), p. 333 ff.; Sayce, *Ancient Empires*, London, 1883, p. XXXI.; Wiedemann, *Ausführliches Kommentar zu Herodots zweites Buch*, Leipzig, 1890, p. 29.; Sourdille, "Explication de la Discretion d'Hérodote" *REG* 38 (1925), p. 289 ff.; Spiegelberg, *Die Glaubwürdigkeit*, p. 17 ff.; Säve-Söderbergh, "Zu den äthiopischen Episoden bei Herodot", *Eranos* 44 (1946), p. 73 ff.; Kolta, *Die Gleichsetzung ägyptischer und griechischer Götter bei Herodot*, Diss. Tübingen, Tübingen, 1968, p. VIII; Legrand, *Hérodote*, Paris, 1966, p. 76.

[31] *Wb* II, pp. 180, 13-181, 1-6.

[32] For the priesthood and their functions vide Moret, *Le Rituel du Culte Divin Journalier en Égypte*, Paris, 1902, passim; Erman, *Die Religion der Ägypter*, Berlin, 1934, p. 187 ff.; Blackman, *HERE* X, p. 293 ff.; id., "The Sequence of the Episodes in

not profound and accurate knowledge of the past. Some scholarly priests with a knowledge of history there doubtless were but the majority, we can be confident, contented themselves with knowing only what they had to know to carry out their duties—an attitude not difficult to parallel amongst the clergy in Christian countries!

(b) Those priests who knew anything or who tried to find out anything of the past would look for and hence record very different things from modern observers since the Egyptian Idea of History was totally at variance with ours. The novelty consisted simply in this. Since all historical study involves general and particular, attempting to place particular phenomena against a background of general principle or law, there is always a tension between the two and *this tension is resolved in Egypt overwhelmingly in favour of the latter.* Here again the concept of *Maʿat* "the World Order" is crucial. *Maʿat* was the order of things as it came into being at the creation of the world but it had not been established once and for all. *'Isft* "Disorder, Chaos, Wickedness" could always arise and could only be kept at bay by eternal vigilance and effort. Originally this concept was conceived entirely in solar terms. There was the world order established by Rēʿ and maintained against Apophis and all other foes both by him and by Pharaoh, his earthly minister. Since, however, among the foes in question, Seth and his confederates ranked very high, the struggle is frequently described in terms of the conflict of Ḥorus and Seth. The latter and his confederates had been responsible for slaying the King Osiris and depriving his son Ḥorus of his birthright. Ḥorus, however, after a series of hard fought battles, succeeded eventually in deposing Seth and defeating his henchmen, driving them from Egypt into the foreign lands beyond. By his triumph he restored *Maʿat* as it had been in the time of his father Osiris. He became king of the living whilst his father became king of the dead. Even so the foes of Order still lurked over the borders of the land, waiting for the least opportunity to re-establish their reign. The conflict of Order and Chaos, Rēʿ and Apophis,

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the Egyptian Daily Temple Liturgy", *JMEOS* (1918-19), p. 27 ff.; Fairman, "Worship and Festivals in an Egyptian Temple", *BJRL* 37 (1954), p. 165 ff.; Vandier, *La Religion Égyptienne*, Paris, 1949, 2nd Ed., p. 170 ff.; Bonnet, *RÄRG* p. 596 ff.; Sauneron, *Les Prêtres de l'ancienne Égypte*, Bourges, 1957; Morenz, *Ägyptische Religion*, Stuttgart, 1960, p. 85 ff.

Ḥorus and Seth, had not been definitively fought out in distant mythological time. It was ever present; for Pharaoh is himself the Incarnation of Ḥorus and as such the champion of *Maʿat*. Each accession is the accession of Ḥorus in triumph over the forces of Chaos, the re-establishment of *Maʿat*, and he thus performed a series of rituals e.g. the Raising of the Djed Pillar symbolizing and, at the same time, actualizing the resurrection of his father Osiris, the dead king. Each coronation was the triumph of Ḥorus in this world and the index of the triumph of Osiris in the next. Consequently the coronation was always held on the 1st Day of the 1st Month of the Season of *Prt*, the Day of the New Year Feast of Ḥorus the Beḥdetite [33] immediately after the Festival of Khoiak which celebrated the resurrection of Osiris.[34] Attitudes being such the particular events of a reign sank into insignificance. The most important consideration was the fact that Ḥorus had triumphed and maintained order—by his service to the gods as their priest and by his conquering of rebellious foes.[35] This is not to say that the individual is lost completely. Indeed, it is recognized in the very format of titles like *Ḥr ʿḥ3* "The Ḥorus ʿAḥa" which may be interpreted "Horus in his ʿAḥa Manifestation". But it is clear that officially it was the Ḥorus aspect that mattered.

Now, in the written records of past reigns this attitude to history will have far-reaching consequences. There will be great emphasis on the

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[33] Chassinat, *Edfou*, V, Cairo, 1930, p. 399, 7.

[34] Gardiner, Review of Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, *JEA* 2 (1915), p. 121 ff.; Fairman, op. cit., p. 192.

[35] On the Egyptian concept of Kingship vide Thierry, *De religieuze Beteekenis van het aeg. Koningschap, I, De Titulatur.* Proefschrift, Leiden, 1913; Moret, *Du Caractère Religieux de la Royauté Pharaonique*, Paris, 1902; Jacobsohn, *Die dogmatische Stellung des Königs in der Theologie der alten Ägypter. Ägyptologische Forschungen 8*, Glückstadt, 1939; Vandier, op. cit., p. 130 ff.; Bonnet, op. cit., p. 380 ff. s.v. König; p. 395 ff. s.v. Krönung; Posener, *De la Divinité du Pharaon*, Paris, 1960; Frankfort, *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, New York, 1961, p. 30 ff.; id., *Kingship and the Gods*, Chicago, 1948, p. 3 ff.; Hornung, "Zur geschichtlichen Rolle des Königs in der 18. Dynastie", *MDAI(K)* 15 (1957), p. 120 ff.; Morenz, *Ägyptische Religion*, Index s.v. König; Derchain, "Le rôle du roi d'Égypte dans le maintien de l'ordre cosmique", *Annales du Centre d'Étude des Religions*, 1 (1962), p. 61 ff.; Hornung, *Geschichte als Fest*, Darmstadt, 1966, p. 14 ff.; id., *Der Eine und die Vielen*, Darmstadt, 1971, Index s.v. König.

service to the gods without whose well-being order is impossible. There will be emphasis on the mortuary buildings of the Pharaohs because on them is dependent the resurrection as Osiris but there will be very little emphasis on particular military or political events as such. They will occur occasionally as evidence of Ḥorus' overthrow of the enemies of *Maʿat* but it is the general significance thereof which is to the fore. These attitudes are strikingly confirmed by the habit whereby Egyptian Pharaohs simply transposed wholesale to their own temples [36] the inscriptions and representations concerning the achievements of earlier kings and above all by the view of historical relevance conveyed by the Palermo Stone.

The "Palermo Stone" is, in fact, not a single stone but a collection of several fragments containing the annals of the late Pre-dynastic, Thinite and, at least, the early Old Kingdom.[37] It was probably compiled in the Fifth Dynasty and observes a rigidly annalistic pattern—name of the king, the achievements of each regnal year, reign-length, indications of the taking of the census. This annalistic scheme was essential because the Egyptian system of dating documents was by regnal years. The information presented consists in the vast majority of cases of religious events—

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[36] This Egyptian philosophy of history is discussed by Ranke, "Vom Geschichtsbilde der alten Ägypter", *CdE* 6 (1931), p. 277 ff.; Frankfort, *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, New York, 1961, p. 46 ff.; Wilson, *The Culture of Ancient Egypt*, Chicago, 1962, pp. 3 ff., 313 ff.; Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, Oxford, 1961, p. 54 ff.; Morenz, *Ägyptische Religion*, p. 167 ff.; Helck, "Entwicklung der Verwaltung als Spiegelbild historischer und soziologischer Faktoren" ap Donadoni, *Le Fonti Indirette della Storia Egiziana*, Rome, 1963, p. 59 ff.; Hornung, *Geschichte als Fest*, passim; Helck & Otto, *Kleines Wörterbuch der Ägyptologie*[2], Wiesbaden, 1970, p. 119 ff. Examples of wholesale transference of documents from one temple wall to another are those of Pepi II of the VIth Dynasty who transferred a scene of triumph over Libyans from the funerary temple of Saḥurēʿ of the Vth Dynasty (Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Saḥu-reʿ*, Leipzig, 1910-3, II, pl. 1) to his pyramid temple (Jéquier, *Monument Funéraire de Pepi II*, Cairo, 1936-40, II, pl. 8-9, 11). It recurs almost 2000 years later in Nubia (Macadam, *Kawa*, London, 1949-55, II, pl. 9, b). Furthermore, pictures of the triumphs of Ramesses III are known to have been copied from documents of Ramesses II (Anthes, "Die Vorführung der gefangenen Feinde vor den König", *ZÄS* 65 (1930), p. 26 ff.). The Ramesseum calendar was reproduced at Medinet Habu (Nelson, *et al.*, *Medinet Habu III*, Chicago, 1934, p. IX).

[37] Text Schäfer, "Ein Bruchstück altägyptischer Annalen", *APAW* 1902; Sethe, *Urkunden*, I, 235-49. Discussion Gardiner, op. cit., p. 62 ff.; Drioton-Vandier, *L'Égypte*[4], Paris, 1962, p. 156 ff.

making statues of the gods,[38] building temples,[39] celebrating festivals,[40] offerings made to the gods.[41] Even events like work on the royal palace [42] and the coronation of kings [43] are seen in a religious context. Some military actions are named e.g. the *Sḳr 'Iwntyw* "Smiting of the *'Iwntyw*" [44] as well as a Nubian Campaign which brought in many prisoners and much booty.[45] Ship-building is several times mentioned [46] but even that activity was probably required for tomb or temple.[47] We are also told consistently the height of the inundation in particular years.

It is, therefore, clear that the records contained in Egyptian documents would be fundamentally theologically orientated. They would contain little to give individuality to the reigns or character to the different kings and they would not form a satisfactory basis for the type of history which not only Herodotus but modern scholars would want to write.

It might be objected that, even if this is true of Egyptian Annals, there were inscriptions and pictures giving details of the campaigns of Tuthmose III and Ramesses II and other great conquerors covering the walls of temples the length and breadth of Egypt and Nubia in great abundance and that the priests could have got the information which Herodotus required from them. We must, however, remember that the use made of a body of material will always be determined by the basic attitudes of the users. The Egyptian priest would never have thought of setting himself the task of reading the temple inscriptions for detailed information of e.g. the First

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[38] Schäfer, op. cit., Recto line 2, n. 1; n. 8; n. 9; n. 10; line 3, n. 11 etc.

[39] Recto line 3, n. 6; n. 7; n. 8; line 4, n. 2; line 5, n. 11 etc.

[40] Recto line 2, n. 4; n. 7; line 3, n. 6; line 4, n. 4; n. 6; n. 10; n. 12 etc.

[41] Verso line 2, n. 2; line 3, nn. 1-2; line 4, n. 1; n. 3; line 5, n. 1 etc.

[42] Recto line 6, n. 4.

[43] Recto line 2, n. 3; line 5, nn. 7-8; Verso line 1, n. 2; line 4, n. 3.

[44] Recto line 3, n. 2.

[45] Recto line 6, n. 2.

[46] Recto line 6, nn. 2-3.

[47] Cf. the expedition in the reign of Saḥurē' (Stevenson Smith, *CAH* I, Cambridge, 1962, Ch. XIV, fasc. 5, p. 41) and Wenamūn's expedition to Byblos which was certainly intended to supply wood for the divine bark of Amon-rē' (Gardiner, *Late - Egyptian Stories*, Brussels, 1932, p. 61, 1. 2-3). The Punt expedition of Ḥatshepsut was certainly intended to supply the needs of Deir el Baḥari (Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, III, p. 11 ff. with pl. 69 ff.; *PM* II, p. 344 ff.; Säve-Söderbergh, "The Navy of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty", *Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift*, 1946, 6, p. 8 ff.).

Campaign of Victory of Tuthmose III because his entire *Weltanschauung* would lead him to consider such matters unimportant. The accounts of great wars were engraved on temple walls as witnesses of the deeds of Ḥorus in triumphing over the forces of Chaos. Some rulers would be so pleased with their particular contribution that they would give what is to us an historically accurate account of a series of wars. Others would borrow inscriptions from their predecessors. Here the important thing was that the triumphs of Ḥorus should be powerfully displayed to the gods. That would be the attitude of the *wēbs* and Prophets who passed them every day and they would not bother to read them to discover precisely how and where Ḥorus had been victorious in one particular case. We should remember that when Neneferkaptaḥ, the storied sage in the Demotic tale, spent his time reading monumental inscriptions the motive was nothing so scientific as the acquisition of historical knowledge but the search for magic spells.[48]

It is clear, then, that, even if a priest learnèd in the official historical records of the land were consulted by Herodotus, or any other Greek, for detailed accounts of individual kings, they would not be able to provide the information required from that source. The importunate northerners would press for a character, an individual like Agamemnon, Theseus, Periander or Solon and we can be sure that they would be content with nothing less.[49] What would our hypothetical scholarly priest do in such circumstances? Obviously he would fall back upon the same source as priests of any other type, indeed as most Egyptians be they priest or lay when faced with such a situation. They would call on folk memory and literary tradition. Let us then consider these categories of information to determine what type of historical lore they would yield.

Popular Tradition

Even though the tension between the particular and the general in Egypt was so emphatically resolved in favour of the latter, this does not mean that recollection of a particular incarnation of Ḥorus will not

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[48] Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, Oxford, 1900, p. 91 ff.

[49] The interest in the individual is emphasized as a marked characteristic of Herodotus by Legrand (*Hérodote*, p. 50).

survive in some form. Their importance may be minimal for Egyptian Historiography but memories of particular incarnations who were great warriors, law-givers, tyrants etc. were certainly preserved in some form. In Egypt, as everywhere, the least sophisticated repository is folk-lore and oral tradition [50] but an oral tradition is not static and hence not historically reliable. It is rather a living, organic phenomenon, growing and evolving according to time and circumstances. New attitudes will change the colour and arrangement of its elements and errant motifs will crystallize around a particular figure because he happens to have caught the imagination, a possibility made all the easier by the fact that the heroes of folk-tales are often actually or virtually anonymous.[51] Thus, in English folk-lore Arthur, a minor British princeling fighting a losing battle against Saxon barbarians, secured a permanent place in folk memory and could attract, or alternatively be introduced into folk tales of immemoral antiquity. Even folk heroes such as Tom Thumb [52] and Jack the Giant-Killer [53] can become Knights of the Round Table. This body of tradition provides also a fine example of the effects of changing social conditions and attitudes in the influence of the chivalric tradition on the memory of Arthur and his supporters.

Another English ruler who caught the popular imagination—in this case for his iniquities—and assimilated folk elements was King John. A good example can be found in "The Tale of King John and the Abbot of Canterbury" [54] where the common *Rätselmotiv* found both in ancient and modern folk-tale [55] has been pinned to an English ruler with a suitably bad reputation in folk memory.

These examples were all collected from oral informants in England during the Nineteenth Century and are genuine folk-tales. Such favourable

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[50] Pieper, "Das ägyptische Märchen", *ZDMG* 83 (1929), p. 152.

[51] The Doomed Prince in the tale of the same name is never more precisely defined. The protagonists in the English folk-tale of "The Fish and the Ring" are anonymous or virtually so (Jacobs, *English Fairy Tales*, London, 1968, p. 119 ff.). How many English folk heroes are called "Jack"?

[52] Jacobs, op. cit., p. 87 ff.

[53] id., op. cit., p. 63 ff.

[54] id., op. cit., p. 238 ff.

[55] Pieper, op. cit., p. 153. Obvious parallels are the Sphinx (Apollod., III, 5, 7 ff.) and Samson (*Judges*, XIV, 12 ff.).

conditions are obviously not to be repeated for antiquity but there are many cases in Greek and Egyptian literature where folk-tales, or at least motifs, have been taken over from oral tradition and been contaminated with historical material. A good Greek example is to be found in the wooing of Agariste, daughter of Cleisthenes of Sicyon (H., VI, 126 ff.) where we find two folk motifs, first Rose's *Bride Wager* motif where a bride is set up as the prize to be won by the victor in a series of contests, secondly the Dancing Motif which has an oriental parallel in the Jataka of the Dancing Peacock.[56] Both, for reasons which are quite unclear, have been attached to the historical tradition of the successful wooing of the tyrant of Sicyon's daughter by Megacles the Alcmeonid. Another excellent Greek example is the tale of the slipper of Rhodopis told in Strabo (XVII, 1, 33 (C808)) and Aelian (*VH* XIII, 33) which shows the fusion of the Cinderella Motif with reminiscences of the famous and historical courtesan of Naucratis.[57] A further instance is the intrusion of the *Habersackmotiv* into the tradition of the Trojan War in the form of the Wooden Horse, a motif which has an obvious parallel in the Arab tale of Ali Baba, to name only the best known.[58]

Cases of historical matter enmeshed in folk elements certainly occurred in ancient Egypt and have survived in a written form which is not likely to be far different from that current amongst the people. The *Taking of Joppa* is based on the exploits of one of the generals of Tuthmose III in Asia during the XVIIIth Dynasty viz. the famous Djeḥuty who succeeded in capturing the city by a *ruse-de-guerre* which forms yet another example of the *Habersackmotiv* already mentioned.[59] Again, the *Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenrēʿ* is based on historical matter, the struggle of the XVIIth Dynasty to expel the Hyksos, but the quarrel itself is nothing more than a common oriental folk motif [60] of which La Fontaine wrote as follows

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[56] Rose, *A Handbook of Greek Mythology*, London, 1964, p. 293.

[57] Rose, op. cit., p. 291 ff.

[58] Pieper, op. cit., p. 147.

[59] Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Stories*, p. 82 ff.; Lefebvre, *Romans et Contes Égyptiens de l'Époque Pharaonique*, Paris, 1949, p. 125 ff.

[60] Gardiner, op. cit., p. 85 ff.; Lefebvre, op. cit., p. 131 ff.

"Les Rois d'alors s'envoyoient les uns aux autres des Problêmes à soudre sur toutes sortes de matieres, à condition de se payer une espece de tribut ou d'amende, selon qu'ils répondroient bien ou mal aux questions proposées."[61]

Another example of historical reminiscence entwined in folk material is the account of the misfortunes of Tuthmose III as retailed in one of the tales of the collection concerned with the adventures of the Setem priest Khaemwese.[62] The great conqueror is here transported to Ethiopia and subjected to a sound thrashing by the king of that country. The latter also demanded of the wise men of Egypt that they should inform him what was in a letter of his without opening it, failure doubtless involving the subjugation of Egypt to Ethiopian suzerainty. This tale reveals several characteristics of such tales. The buffeting of the great king is paralleled elsewhere, a point of which Pieper speaks in the following terms

> "Es ist ... regelmäßig zu beobachten, daß das Volk gleichsam eine Erholung von seiner Bewunderung braucht. So gibt es Sagen, wo der große Kaiser Karl recht schlecht wegkommt (z.B. die Haimonskinder). Vom alten Fritz erzählt man sich heute noch Geschichten, in denen er direkt verulkt wird (De ol Fritz un de Bessenbinner)".[63]

In the letter puzzle we also have a feature closely related to the *Rätselmotiv* already mentioned.[64] Finally it should be observed that the composer of this tale, although the main figure is Tuthmose III, thinks in terms of the political conditions of the Demotic Period when there was an independent kingdom in Ethiopia and that chronological confusions are to be found elsewhere in the Khaemwese Cycle.[65]

The irreverence shown by this tale rises to the level of satire in a Ptolemaic tale which survives only in part and describes with great relish in the introduction a drinking orgy of Pharaoh Amasis and its severe physiological consequences the following morning.[66] This example

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[61] "Vie d'Ésope le Phrygien", *Fables*, Ed. Gohin, I, Paris, 1934, p. 29.

[62] Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, p. 173 ff.

[63] Pieper, op. cit., p. 152.

[64] Vide supra, p. 101.

[65] Vide Maspero, *Les Contes Populaires de l'Égypte Ancienne, Littératures Populaires IV*, Paris, (ND.), p. XXX ff.

[66] id., op. cit., p. 207 ff.; Spiegelberg, *Die sogennante Demotische Chronik.* (*Demotische Studien* 7), Leipzig, 1914, p. 26 ff.

is particularly interesting because the tradition is also found in Herodotus.[67] An example of a popular legend, though not strictly a folk-tale, is the *Princess of Bakhtan* which is clearly set in the reign of Ramesses II, one of the great conquerors of the New Kingdom and is based on a vague memory of his marriage to the Princess of Khatti.[68]

Such traditions would have been known to most, if not all, Egyptians, priest or lay, either retailed by parents to their children or possibly, as in Islamic Egypt, by itinerant story tellers.[69] Such tales would have been as familiar to them, and as accepted, as the legends of King Arthur, Francis Drake's bowls and Charles II's oak tree are to English children or those of Homer's heroes and many later stalwarts of greater or less historicity in Greece.

Literary Tradition

It has already been shown that folk-tales and oral tradition were recorded in writing in ancient Egypt but, apart from this simple form, there were several other genres in which the memory of ancient rulers might be preserved.

Propaganda was a *genre* well known in ancient Egypt and several examples survive,[70] amongst them the *Westcar Papyrus*,[71] the *Prophecy of Neferty* [72] and the *Demotic Chronicle*.[73]

The *Westcar Papyrus* obviously contains many elements—folk motifs, legend, *tours de magie*—but the second half, concerned with the miracu-

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[67] II, 173-4.

[68] Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, Oxford, 1971, II, 5, p. 284 ff.; Lefebvre, op. cit., p. 221 ff.

[69] Lane, *The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (Everyman Ed.), London, 1966, p. 397 ff.; Baedeker, *Egypt*, London, 1914, p. XXVI. The present writer knows of no evidence of similar institutions in ancient Egypt but itinerant dancing troupes certainly existed (Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke*, Hildesheim, 1959, p. 34, 14; Lefebvre, op. cit., p. 89).

[70] For this topic see Posener, *Littérature et Politique*, Paris 1956; Williams, "Literature as a Medium of Political Propaganda in Ancient Egypt", ap W.S. Mc Cullough (Ed.), *The Seed of Wisdom. Essays in Honour of T.J. Meek*, Toronto, 1964, p. 14 ff.

[71] Lefebvre, op. cit., p. 70 ff.

[72] Op. cit., p. 91 ff.

[73] Spiegelberg, op. cit., p. 5 ff.

lous birth of the kings of the Vth Dynasty from the seed of the sun god Rēʿ and Redjedet, the wife of a Priest of Heliopolis, is clearly designed to glorify the dynasty, boost the prestige of the priesthood of Heliopolis whose power reached considerable proportions during that period and doubtless also to remove any doubts that might be entertained about the legitimacy of the new line.[74] The distinctly unsympathetic picture of Khufu is also probably propagandist—presumably ecclesiastical in origin.[75]

The Prophecy of Neferty was a *post eventum* prophecy describing the chaos of the First Intermediate Period and showing that Amenemḥēt I, the founder of the Twelfth Dynasty, was destined by the gods to come and restore order. Here again we detect a nervous desire to establish the legitimacy or at least justify the accession of a ruler whose claim to the throne was, to say the least, questionable. The *Demotic Chronicle* dating from the Ptolemaic Period is another propagandist document taking the form of *post eventum* prophecy. This text, designed to fan the flames of national aspiration, contains, in fact, a series of prophecies referring to the Persian and Greek Periods and promising a saviour to deliver the Egyptians from their conquerors.[76] Egyptian propaganda is also blatantly evident in the late *Alexander Romance*.[77]

Another *genre* which might contribute to the individual picture of a Pharaoh is biography. Works like the *Story of Sinuhe*, which was probably based on a tomb biography,[78] and the *Adventures of Wenamūn*, probably based on an official report,[79] were firmly rooted in an historical context and might well assist an Egyptian in imparting the type of information which Herodotus and his fellow Greeks wanted.

Yet another *genre* which could supply information on the character

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[74] We should not be far wrong in comparing it with the Birth Colonnade of Ḥatshepsut at Deir el Baḥari which was clearly intended to be an affirmation of her right to rule as Pharaoh.

[75] In general Posener, "L'Apport des Textes Littéraires à la Connaissance de l'Histoire Égyptienne", ap Donadoni, op. cit., p. 15 ff.

[76] Spiegelberg, op. cit., p. 5 ff.

[77] Bevan, *The House of Ptolemy*, Chicago, 1968, p. 3.

[78] Blackman, *Middle-Egyptian Stories*, Brussels, 1932, p. 1 ff.; Lefebvre, op. cit., p. 1 ff.

[79] Gardiner, op. cit., p. 61 ff.; Lefebvre, op. cit., p. 204 ff.

of individuals is the considerable body of didactic literature. It was not only great men such as Ptaḥḥotpe who wrote *Seboyet* or "Instructions" for their sons but Egyptian Kings also appear in this rôle. One example is the *Instruction for Merikarē'* [80] composed during the Xth Dynasty by the Herakleopolitan ruler Akhtoy for his son as a political testament and in the by-going creating a clear impression of character and the age in which he lived. Another case is the *Instructions of Amenemḥēt* written in the person of Amenemḥēt I of the XIIth Dynasty, again as a political testament, though there is little doubt that the Pharaoh himself was not responsible for the document.[81]

It will be clear from this discussion that all educated Egyptians and *ipso facto* all priests ranking from at least *wēb* up would have had available to them, in addition to folk tradition which never found its way onto papyrus, a considerable corpus of historical data cast in literary form and intermingled with a wide spectrum of elements ranging through folk motifs, burlesque fantasies and propaganda to gnomic lore; for the texts which we have described formed the basis of education in Egypt [82] in that they were copied and re-copied by generations of budding scribes. Some were read as embodying the practical wisdom of the Egyptians and others as sheer entertainment. Altogether this matter must have constituted the sum total of what many Egyptians, priest or lay, knew of their past. Even in the case of scholarly prophets or *wēbs* who had access to annals of the stamp of the Palermo Stone it must have formed the most vivid embodiment of Egyptian history and the most immediate and obvious source for the detail and character which a Greek enquirer would want.

If these suggestions are correct, the *optimum* historical tradition even of priests of high rank will have consisted of a curious amalgam of theologically orientated official record, oral tradition with a liberal admixture of folk-tale and assorted information preserved in literary texts of various kinds. Now Herodotus' account of Egyptian history shows precisely the characteristics we should expect if it were based on such material. Official tradition quite clearly played a rôle; for a king list

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[80] Volten, *Zwei altägyptische politische Schriften. Analecta Aegyptiaca* IV, Copenhagen, 1945, p. 3 ff.; Posener, op. cit., p. 14 ff.

[81] Volten, op. cit., p. 104 ff.

[82] Brunner, *Altägyptische Erziehung*, Wiesbaden, 1957, p. 80 ff.

was read to him, at least in part, on one occasion, and a short breakdown of its contents given (II, 100, 1). This, or similar documents, gave him some idea of the basic periods in Egyptian history even if chronology went subsequently badly awry and could certainly contain information on the height of the Nile in the time of Moeris which he gives in II, 13. On the other hand, his statements on many rulers show features which in the light of our previous remarks we should expect of oral tradition. The achievement of Menes in re-directing the waters of the Nile looks very like the marvellous feat attributed to the magician Djadjaemankh in the *Westcar Papyrus* [83] and, since, in accordance with the Egyptian view of the hero, Egyptian kings were often attributed in legend great magical prowess,[84] we are probably faced here with oral tradition. The account of the vengeance of Nitocris contains the common motif of the *fête fatale* [85] while the fact that the monarch in the tale of Pheros is so called must be taken to mean that in Egyptian sources he was nameless, called simply Pharaoh [86]—and anonymity, as already pointed out,[87] is common in folk tales. The account of Sesostris shows clear conflation and foreshortening of memories of several Egyptian kings,[88] an important characteristic of oral tradition strikingly illustrated in the Tarquin tradition at Rome.[89]

Herodotus' discussion of Rhampsinitus (II, 121-122) is particularly rich in the characteristics of oral tradition. The name of Rhampsinitus itself is clearly based on that of the Ramesses of the XIX and XXth Dynasty but has been distorted by the anachronistic addition of the title only found in royal titularies from the XXVIth Dynasty *s3 Nt*

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[83] Vide II, 99 with n. ad. loc.

[84] Vide n. II, 50, 3 and compare Manetho (infra, p. 110 with n. 107).

[85] Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk Literature*, Copenhagen, 6 Vols., 1955-58, K815.4; S113.2.3.

[86] Eg. *Pr ʿ3* "the Great House" (*Wb* I, p. 516, 2-12); Copt. ⲡⲣⲣⲟ (Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*. Oxford, 1939, p. 299); Heb. פַּרְעֹה *Părʿôh* (Brown-Driver-Briggs, *HEL* p. 829); Gk. *Φαραώ*.

[87] Vide supra, p. 101.

[88] Malaise, "Sésostris, Pharaon de légende et d'histoire", *CdE* 41 (1966), p. 244 ff.

[89] Ogilvie, *Commentary on Livy Books 1-5*, Oxford, 1965, p. 145 ff.

"Son of Neith",[90] a mistake paralleled in the *Princess of Bakhtan* where the titles of Ramesses II are mixed up with those of Tuthmose IV.[91] Furthermore, the *Tale of the Treasury of Rhampsinitus* is a variant, certainly superb, of the motif of the two brothers who plunder a treasury until one is caught by the owner and beheaded by his brother to prevent identification,[92] while the motif of the game in which Rhampsinitus won the χειρόμακτρον from Demeter is paralleled by the game played by the Setem Khaemwese for the magic book and other examples.[93] Finally we may point out that the rich vein of fantasy so often found in Egyptian and oriental tales in general surfaces in the account of the interior of the Pyramid of Cheops, though the imagination has clearly taken as its starting point the facts of the appearance of an Osiris grave—a natural association for an Egyptian, whether priest or not.[94]

Historical matter derived from literary tradition is generally speaking impossible to isolate with any certainty in Herodotus but there are cases of propaganda which at the least have parallels in Egyptian Literature. The Sesostris tradition probably shows its influence in the wide extension of his conquests to the north east in an attempt to keep pace or even surpass the achievements of subsequent Asiatic rulers and thereby maintain Sesostris' position as the greatest conqueror in world history. The priests were clearly determined to use this tradition not only to console themselves for the loss of glories long past but also to discomfit their Persian conquerors.[95] Another case where propaganda is probably involved is the unfavourable tradition on Cheops (μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον (sc. Ῥαμψινίτον) βασιλεύσαντά σφεων Χέοπα ἐς πᾶσαν κακότητα ἐλάσαι II, 124, 1) which is in harmony with the picture of the ruler conveyed by the *Westcar Papyrus*[96] and in all probability reflects hostile propaganda directed by

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[90] Gauthier, *Livre des Rois* (*MIFAO*), Cairo, 1907-17, IV, 1, pp. 114, 119, 120, 121, 122 etc.

[91] Lefebvre, op. cit., p. 225, n. 12.

[92] Rose, op. cit., p. 300 ff.

[93] Griffith, op. cit., p. 31 ff.

[94] II, 124, 4; Helck & Otto, *Kleines Wörterbuch*², p. 123; cf. Brunner, "Menes als Schöpfer", *ZDMG* 103 (1953), p. 25.

[95] Braun, *History and Romance in Graeco-Oriental Literature*, Oxford, 1938, p. 13 ff.; Malaise, op. cit.

[96] Posener, *Littérature et Politique*, pp. 10 ff., 33.

the priests against a monarch who had expended so much on his own monument to the detriment of the temples (cf. κατακληίσαντα γάρ μιν πάντα τὰ ἱρὰ πρῶτα μέν σφεας θυσιέων ἀπέρξαι, μετὰ δὲ ἐργάζεσθαι ἑωυτῷ κελεύειν πάντας Αἰγυπτίους).[97] It has also been recognized for some time that the Cambyses tradition as preserved in Herodotus is the result of priestly distortion for propagandist ends.[98]

It will by now be clear that the amalgam of historical information which we should expect to lie at the disposal of all Egyptian priests, high or low, does, in fact, occur in Herodotus but what of the Greek material which is also intermingled with it? Could this also have formed part of the lore of the ἱρέες?

The presence of Greek material within the historical tradition which Herodotus claims derived from the priests does not in any way disprove the priestly origin of this historical material. Greeks had been coming to Egypt long enough to inject into the stream of Egyptian folk-lore more than a little of their own ideas and traditions of Egypt (on which vide infra). Such matter (e.g. the Proteus legend)[99] could quite naturally be taken up by the priests as part of their national history along with tales of purely Egyptian origin. It should further be remembered that in the process of Herodotus' questioning the priests, assimilating what he had been told, re-assembling it for composition and actually writing it, these traditions would almost certainly acquire a fresh Greek varnishing. The plausibility of this view gains considerably if we remember that the Egyptians were already importing Syrian matter into their mythology during the New Kingdom e.g. the Tale of Astarte and the Sea; [100] that the Tomb of Petosiris, a High Priest of Thoth, which probably dates about the time of the Macedonian Conquest, shows a curious amalgam of Greek and Egyptian artistic conventions [101] and that late Demotic tales show clear Greek influence.[102]

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[97] H., II, 124, 1.

[98] Lüddeckens, "Herodot und Ägypten", *ZDMG* 104 (1954), p. 345 ff.

[99] II, 112 ff.

[100] Gardiner, op. cit., p. 76 ff.; Lefebvre, op. cit., p. 106 ff.

[101] Lefebvre, *Le Tombeau de Petosiris*, 3 Vols, Cairo, 1923-4; Morenz, *Die Begegnung Europas mit Ägypten*, Berlin, 1968, p. 113 ff.

[102] Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, p. 11 ff.; Spiegelberg, *Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis*, Leipzig, 1910, p. 10.

We have given good reasons for believing that the tradition of Herodotus with its traces of Egyptian annalistic techniques and Egyptian and Greek folk-tale and tradition, could be derived from priests of high rank. The conclusive proof of this thesis is the work of Manetho, a high priest of Heliopolis [103] and certainly not the least informed priest at Ptolemy II's disposal. There are certainly difficulties in using his work. Not only does it survive only in fragments but he wrote 150 years after Herodotus at a time when Greek influence had had a greater opportunity to work itself into the grain of Egyptian life and thought but so much is clear beyond all gainsaying. Manetho was writing Egyptian History for a Greek audience and for Greek tastes. His situation was, therefore, basically analogous to that of our hypothetical learnèd priest and we meet in his *Αἰγυπτιακά* precisely those ingredients which our earlier discussion has suggested we ought to meet when an Egyptian found himself in such a position. Let us consider some entries :

The Dynasties of the Gods (*FgrH* 609, p. 11 ff., F. 2-3). This has a clear parallel in Herodotus (vide infra, p. 186).

Menes (op. cit., p. 16, F. 2-3). He was the first king (Annals) [104] and was killed by a hippopotamus (Folk-Tale/Tradition).[105]

Athothis (op. cit., p. 18, F. 2-3). *β̄ ... ἔτη νζ̄ ὁ τὰ ἐν Μέμφει βασίλεια οἰκοδομήσας* (Annals).[106] *φέρονται βίβλοι ἀνατομικαί. ἰατρὸς γὰρ ἦν* (Tradition/Folk-Tale).[107]

Sesostris (op. cit., p. 30 ff., F. 2-3). *γ̄ ... ἔτη μη̄* (Annals). *ὃς ἅπασαν ... Ὄσιριν πρῶτον νομισθῆναι* (Tradition/Folk-Tale). Note particularly

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[103] *FgrH* 609, T. 1. The traditions are discussed by Laqueur (*RE* XIV, 1, 1060 ff.) and Waddell (*Manetho* (*LCL*), London, 1940, p. IX ff.).

[104] Turin Canon (Gardiner, *The Royal Canon of Turin*, Oxford, 1959, II, 10-11); cf. the Abydos King List.

[105] The Sethian associations of the hippopotamus (vide n. II, 71) make it difficult to accept this tale as historical.

[106] Cf. Turin Canon (op. cit., II, 12) for position. Annals like the Palermo Stone contained information on the construction of palaces (vide supra, p. 99).

[107] Kings are often hero-figures throughout the world and in Egypt heroes are usually learnèd men (vide n. II, 50, 3). This tradition on Athothis is on a par with the statements on the magical prowess of Aḥmose (*Urkunden*, IV, 19 ff.) and Nectanebo (Gardiner, *HERE* VIII, p. 268).

that this tradition of the great Asiatic conquests of Sesostris is that of Herodotus. Thus, despite severe criticism of Herodotus (F. 1), Manetho, the learned High Priest of Heliopolis, accepts as completely historical a popular tradition found in the *Histories.*

Amenophis (op. cit., p. 38, F. 2-3). η̄ *Ἀμένωφις ἔτη λᾱ* (Annals). *οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Μέμνων εἶναι νομιζόμενος καὶ φθεγγόμενος λίθος* (Gk. Tradition). Manetho is, therefore, prepared to accept an identification made by the Greeks with an Egyptian King. The acceptance of the Proteus tradition even amongst priests of high rank becomes, therefore, a distinct possibility.

Armesis (op. cit., p. 40, F. 2-3). ῑδ ... *ἔτη* ε̄ (Annals). *μεθ' ἃ ... βασιλεύει Ἀργείων* (Tradition). Here Greek matter has been injected into the stream of Egyptian tradition and accepted even by a High Priest.

Thouôris (op. cit., p. 42, F. 2-3). ζ̄ ... *ἔτη* ζ̄ (Annals). *ὁ παρ' Ὁμήρῳ ... τὸ Ἴλιον ἑάλω* (Tradition). Integration of Greek and Egyptian tradition. Again a parallel to the Proteus legend.

Osorchô (op. cit., p. 46, F. 2-3). β̄ ... *ἔτη* η̄ (Annals). *ὃν Ἡρακλέα Αἰγύπτιοι καλοῦσι* (Tradition). Integration of Greek and Egyptian tradition.

Hence, in the writings of an Egyptian High Priest of the reign of Ptolemy II we find all the ingredients which characterize the tradition on Egyptian History in Book II of Herodotus' *History* and we must conclude that the information of the latter on the subject could have been derived from priests of high rank.

(e) Geography. The information which Herodotus obtained from the priests on the alluvial nature of the north of Egypt is, in fact, based on religious ideas. The concepts involved would have been well known to most Egyptian priests and probably many laymen as well. The scientific geological substantiation of the alluvial nature of this area is entirely that of Herodotus himself (vide nn. II, 4, 3; 10, 1).

The height of the inundation in the time of Moeris (II, 13, 1) is precisely the sort of information which could be obtained from Annals and is consistently recorded in the extant fragments of the Palermo Stone (vide supra).

The inability to get information from the priests (or anybody else)

on the reasons for the inundation (II, 19, 1) is at first sight surprising but becomes comprehensible if we consider that any answer on the subject would have been distinctly mythological in character (vide n. ad loc.) and would certainly not have satisfied a mind such as that of Herodotus which was deeply imbued with the spirit of Ionian rationalism (vide infra p. 156 ff.). He probably did get an explanation but to him the answer would be no answer. It might be countered that, if he did get such a reply from the priests, he would at least have mentioned it, just as he relates the λόγος of the γραμματιστής on the πηγαί. This is not, however, compelling; for a priestly λόγος on the Inundation would certainly involve an account of θεοί in action and Herodotus does his utmost to avoid τὰ θηΐα πρήγματα whereas the πηγαὶ-λόγος is entirely physical—in appearance at least.

In II, 28 the Scribe of Sais gives Herodotus the standard Egyptian account of the πηγαί of the Nile which he refuses to believe. He can, of course, register reserve elsewhere towards priestly statements (n. II, 4, 2) but we should remember that Herodotus may well not have been aware that the γραμματιστής in question was a priest and thereby been fortified in his scepticism.

The conclusion of this analysis is that Herodotus had access to genuine Egyptian priests who may well have been of high rank. Spiegelberg's contention that "die Kirchenfürsten" of the Fifth Century "in ihrem mandarinenhaften Stolz gewiss nicht zu einem wißbegierigen Griechen herabgelassen hätten" is invalid;[108] for there is no evidence of the existence of any such attitude. Neither does the insistence of the priests on purity in any way prevent intercourse with Greeks. For this was only a temporary requirement. They served in the temple for a month at a time and during this period had to be *w'b* [109] but when they were off duty it was not obligatory and the Egyptian was the last man to insist upon it.[110]

Can we get anywhere towards establishing to what class precisely they belonged? Obviously we cannot assume that one group and one group

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[108] *Die Glaubwürdigkeit*, p. 17 ff.

[109] Vide nn. II, 37.

[110] My views on this subject are shared by Baldwin, "How credulous was Herodotus?" *G & R* 11 (1964), p. 171 ff.

alone was responsible for the data. There were several classes both of higher and lower clergy and at some time or another Herodotus probably came into contact with most if not all of them. There is, however, some evidence that in one or all the major shrines of Thebes, Memphis and Heliopolis, he had encountered an important group known as the Priests of the House of Life, the repository of Egyptian learning. These institutions appear first in the Old Kingdom but the majority of references occur from the New Kingdom onwards. They consisted of small buildings set apart from the temple proper, probably all substantially of the shape of those of Abydos and Amarna which consisted of a large central chamber dedicated to Osiris onto which gave four smaller rooms, one in each of the four sides thus

The four rooms were devoted to Isis, Nephthys, Ḥorus and Thoth and the entire building was placed under the protection of Chnum and Seshat. The purpose of these installations was to preserve Egyptian learning and their interests included medicine, divine and doubtless royal annals and, above all, the cult. The sacred rolls were under the charge of special priests who are called in Greek times ἱερογραμματεῖς and could be consulted whenever their services were required e.g. when the inundation was late or illness had struck or when a temple or tomb was to be built.[111]

Now two pieces of information at least are highly recondite. First, Herodotus is informed of the original connection of the Civil Calendar with the Astronomical Year (II, 4, 1) and secondly he is able to extract evidence on the height of the inundation in the time of Moeris (II, 13, 1). Such knowledge could hardly have been widely current and is precisely the type of lore which we should expect the priests of the House of Life to have at their disposal.

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[111] Gardiner, "The House of Life", *JEA* 24 (1938), p. 157 ff.; Volten, *Demotische Traumdeutung. Analecta Aegyptiaca* III, Copenhagen, 1942, p. 17 ff.; Bonnet, *RÄRG* p. 417 ff.; Brunner, *Altägyptische Erziehung*, Wiesbaden, 1957, p. 28 ff.; Helck & Otto, *Kleines Wörterbuch*², p. 206.

(II) *οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι/Αἰγύπτιοι λόγοι*

II, 15, 2. *Αἰγύπτιοι* state that the Delta is alluvial. This clearly refers to II, 4, 3 and II, 10, 1. Hence here *Αἰγύπτιοι* = *ἱρέες*.

II, 19, 3. Herodotus enquired of *οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι* concerning the reasons for the eccentric behaviour of the Inundation in Egypt. In II, 19, 1 we find a verbally similar expression *οὔτε τι τῶν ἱρέων οὔτε ἄλλου οὐδενὸς παραλαβεῖν ἐδυνάσθην* (cf. *οὐδὲν οἷός τε ἐγενόμην παραλαβεῖν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων*). *ἄλλου οὐδενός* must mean simply Egyptians because the sources of II, 19 are contrasted with II, 20, 1 (*Ἑλλήνων μέν τινες*). Hence *Αἰγύπτιοι* = Egyptian priests and laymen.

II, 28, 1. H. enquires on the *πηγαί*. Correlation with *Λίβυες* and *Ἕλληνες* proves that he means Egyptians in general.

II, 43, 2. *Αἰγύπτιοι* deny knowledge of the names of Poseidon and the Dioscuri. Presumably Egyptians in general.

II, 104, 2. *Αἰγύπτιοι* confirm that the Colchians were members of the army of Sesostris. Presumably Egyptians in general.

II, 127, 1. *Αἰγύπτιοι* are responsible for chronological information on Cheops and Chephren. These are almost certainly the priests; for none but they would be likely to claim to know the length of the reign of Cheops.

II, 142, 1. *Αἰγύπτιοι* and *ἱρέες* were the sources of Egyptian history up to Sethos. This contrast is identical with that of II, 19, 3.

II, 147, 1. Restatement of II, 142, 1 in which case the term is now being used generally. He also states that *οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι* will be the source from II, 147 ff.

It is clear from this analysis that *Αἰγύπτιοι* might be priests, Egyptian laymen or both together.

(III) *οἱ Χεμμῖται*

II. 91, 3. *οἱ Χεμμῖται* inform Herodotus of the legend of Perseus and its relationship to their city. It is possible that they were *μιξέλληνες*.[112]

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[112] Lloyd, "Perseus and Chemmis", *JHS* 89 (1969), p. 84 ff.

(IV) ὁ ἑρμηνεύς

II, 125, 6. ὁ ἑρμηνεύς interpreted the inscriptions on the Great Pyramid to Herodotus. This interpretation was certainly phony.[113]

(V) οἱ ἐπεστεώτες τῶν Αἰγυπτίων

II, 148. They inform Herodotus that the tombs of builders of the Labyrinth and those of the sacred crocodiles lay in τὰ ὑπόγαια οἰκήματα of the Labyrinth. They were probably door keepers who often occur as permanent members of temple staff.[114]

(VI) οἱ ἐπιχώριοι[115]

II, 150, 1. They are also called οἱ ἄγχιστα οἰκέοντες τῆς λίμνης. They inform Herodotus, quite incorrectly,[116] that the Lake of Moeris debouched into the Syrtis. They also claim that rubbish derived from excavating the lake was thrown into the Nile. There may be some truth in that.[117]

III, 12, 1. οἱ ἐπιχώριοι informed him of the thinness of Persian skulls which lay on the site of the Battle of Pelusium.

In both cases the word clearly means "the inhabitants of the area" not natives in general.

We have discussed all Egyptian sources of hearsay infor nation but

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[113] Spiegelberg, *Die Glaubwürdigkeit*, p. 42, n. 12.

[114] Lloyd, "The Egyptian Labyrinth", *JEA* 56 (1970), p. 97, n. 2.

[115] The information of the ἐπιχώριοι ap II, 60, 3 may be derived indirectly from a written source. Consequently we omit it from this section. On similar cases vide Jacoby, *RE* VII, 2676-2677. On ἐπιχώριοι generally vide Verdin, "Notes sur l'Attitude des Historiens Grecs à l'égard de la Tradition locale", *Anc Soc* 1 (1970), p. 183 ff.

[116] Good description ap Kees, *Ancient Egypt*, London, 1961, p. 219 ff.

[117] Dykes could be constructed of such material and the reclamation activities of Amenemḥēt III certainly involved large scale works of that kind (Hayes, *CAH* I, Ch. XX, fasc. 3, p. 50).

before leaving the subject we should make several cautionary observations which must condition our use of this body of material.

1. The Egyptians were more likely to know Greek than *vice versa*. A class, or at any rate group, of ἑρμηνεῖς had been trained with that end in view while in modern times they are excellent linguists, acquiring languages by ear with great facility.

2. Egyptians were quite likely to retail or develop traditions *ad maiorem Aegyptiorum gloriam*.

3. Egyptians had been living cheek by jowl with Greeks for over two hundred years by the time Herodotus came to the country. If their descendants are any criterion, their affability and curiosity would soon have led them to acquire a considerable knowledge of the Greeks—probably not much less than the Greeks knew of them. We should also remember that Egyptians did travel and that the Egyptian fleet had campaigned with Xerxes in Greek waters.

4. The acquisition of all knowledge by ἀκοή is subject to the perils of the leading question.[118]

5. Egyptians will think Egyptian.

(b) *Non-Egyptians* (οἱ ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι) [119]

(I) *Libyans* (II, 28, 1). Along with Egyptians and Greeks, Herodotus had made enquiry of Libyans on the question of the πηγαί of the Nile. They could give him no information.

(II) οἱ *Κόλχοι*

II, 104, 1 tells us that Herodotus had made enquiries of Colchians to determine whether the legend of their Egyptian origin was correct. Their information was, of course, false.

(III) *Greeks*

Greek sources are mentioned in various forms :

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[118] The dangers of this situation are emphasized by Vogt, "Herodot in Ägypten", *Genethliakon Wilhelm Schmid. Tübinger Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft* 5, Stuttgart, 1929, p. 100 ff.

[119] II, 147, 1 (cf. II, 154, 4).

(a) οἱ Ἕλληνες II, 28, 1. Herodotus had made enquiry of Greeks whom he had encountered in an effort to determine the πηγαί of the Nile.

II, 45, 1. Attack on the stupid Greek tradition of the conflict of Herakles and Busiris. It is possible that Herodotus has in mind his uncle Panyassis who had written on this subject (vide n. ad loc.).

(b) Cyrenaeans II, 32, 1. ἄνδρες Κυρηναῖοι are the source of the tradition of the Nasamonian journey into Central Africa.

(c) αἱ Δωδωνίδες ἱέρειαι (II, 53, 3)/οἱ Δωδωναῖοι (II, 55, 3). Herodotus heard from both that the tradition of the Theban origin of the Dodonian oracle was correct.

οἱ Ἴωνες are only mentioned to refute their doctrine (II, 15, 1-17, 1), not as sources, though we know that Herodotus did use them in that way. The doctrines of the Greeks on the inundation of the Nile (II, 20, 1) are given the same treatment.

Inference can take us some way in determining more precisely the character of Herodotus' Greek sources. In modern times Greeks have been numerous in the country and engaged in a wide variety of occupations while acquiring a grim reputation among the natives for criminal propensities.[120] In the Fifth Century they might have appeared in any of several rôles :

1. Merchants. Naucratis would have been the great centre for traders but they were certainly to be found in Herodotus' time throughout the country. It is quite clear that their activities in Egypt south of the Fayyûm were carried out on Egyptian shipping,[121] a fact which helps to explain why Herodotus has such detailed and accurate information on Egyptian boats (vide nn. II, 36, 4; 96 passim).[122]

2. Mercenaries. Troops from Greek and neighbouring areas were employed in Egypt from the early Seventh Century and thousands of Greeks must have served in Egypt, got to know the country and then returned to their homelands with tales of what they had seen and heard.

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[120] Schweinfurth ap Baedeker, *Egypt and the Sudan*, London, 1914, p. LXII.

[121] Vide n. II, 5, 1.

[122] For further details on Greek commerce in Egypt vide supra, p. 24 ff.

It is also certain that some settled in the country forming a particularly useful disbursing point for information on the Egyptians.[123]

3. Half-castes there certainly were in Egypt. The most striking proof of this is provided by a painting from the tomb of Si-amūn in the Oasis of Siwa which dates between the XXVIth-XXXth Dynasties.[124] It shows a man whose hairstyle and beard are thoroughly Greek while his dress, the conventions of drawing and context are almost entirely Egyptian. Before him stands a youth who is dressed in what is unmistakably a Greek chlamys. The man's skin is painted creamy white. That of his wife, on the other hand, is reddish brown and she is also dressed entirely in the Egyptian fashion. Fakhry's conclusion from these facts is the only one possible. Si-amūn is a Greek who had settled in the Oasis of Siwa, married an Egyptian woman and sired a brace of *μιξέλληνες*. Such half-castes must have contributed a great deal to the growth of the Greek traditions on the country and its civilization.

4. One settled Greek community outside Egypt proper but within the Egyptian *Kulturgebiet* is mentioned by Herodotus *viz.* the Samians in the *Μακάρων νῆσοι* (III, 26, 1). This was a settlement called *Ὄασις πόλις* in the Oasis area 7 days west of Thebes and probably to be identified with El Khargeh, an area strongly Egyptianized in Herodotus' time.[125] Whether it was unique we cannot tell but it is quite clear that such a place was well suited to collecting information on Egyptian life.

5. Cyrenaeans. These are only mentioned once as a source [126] but, either directly or indirectly, Herodotus must have obtained much more than the tale of the Nasamonians. Cyrene was the only Greek *πόλις* living cheek by jowl with Egypt. There had been at least one war, that in the reign of Apries, while later it had enjoyed peaceful relations in the time of Amasis when a Cyrenaean princess married the Egyptian Pharaoh (II, 181-2). It is, therefore, likely enough that Cyrenaeans were the *Ἕλληνες* responsible for much of the Apries and Amasis section of

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[123] Further vide supra, p. 14 ff.

[124] Fakhry, "The Necropolis of 'Gabal el-Môta' at Siwa", *ASAE* 40 (1940-1), pp. 779 ff., 793 ff.; id., *The Oasis of Siwa*, Cairo, 1950, p. 85 ff.; Morenz, *Die Begegnung Europas mit Ägypten*, Berlin, 1968, p. 78 with pl. 5a. F. dates XXVI-XXXth Dyn. (*ASAE* 40 (1940-1), p. 798), M. c. 540 B.C. (op. cit., p. 78, n. 5).

[125] Hecataeus mentions *Ὑσαεῖς · νῆσος μικρὰ καὶ μεγάλη* (*FgrH* I, F. 326).

[126] Vide supra, p. 117.

Saite History. It is also likely enough that Herodotus' knowledge of the Oasis of Siwa owes something to them.[127]

6. *Δελφοί* directly or indirectly were probably Herodotus' source for the generosity of Amasis to the oracle mentioned in II, 180.

In all these cases the *Ἕλληνες* were admirably placed to cull information on subjects such as topography, hydrography, botany, zoology, ethnography, religion, history—in fact all the subjects discussed in the *Αἰγύπτιος λόγος* of Herodotus' history. They would, however, generally labour under two difficulties :

(a) Little knowledge of the Egyptian language. Egyptian willingness to learn Greek was no substitute.

(b) The natural tendency to see everything with Greek eyes (vide supra, p. 77 ff.).

Section III of this enquiry has been devoted almost entirely to the oral informants whom we have reason to believe Herodotus used but before we leave the subjects one final point must be made. The use of such matter must have posed Herodotus a major problem in that he would have to remember what he had been told long enough to get it down on paper. In some case he may, of course, have scribbled out his information as it was retailed but we can be confident that normally it was carried in his head for some time before being committed to paper. Such a process is fraught with peril and, even if we make allowance for the fact that in the Fifth Century when books were relatively scarce the memory must have been trained to a high pitch of excellence from an early age, as was certainly the case in Fifteenth Century England,[128] the retention of a large body of information, in such a combination of memory and note form, and the final arrangement of this material in a shape fit for publication must have posed real difficulties and left considerable scope for error, particularly when the writer was dealing with relatively unfamiliar matter. How often must Herodotus have found that the very facts he needed he had forgotten to note down or could not re-

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[127] For the close connections between Siwa and Cyrene vide n. II, 32, 1.

[128] Chambers, *Thomas More*, Harmondsworth, 1963, p. 51 ff.

call ! How often must he have failed to remember the precise relationship between one note and another ! How frequently must he have tried to make sense of disconnected facts by guesswork and *a priori* reasoning ! [129] Researchers in modern times have all too often found themselves in such difficulties and endeavoured to extricate themselves by similar means. Sometimes they can return to the source but for many this is often impossible and Herodotus, once he had left Egypt, had to make the best he could of his material. Mistakes would be only natural and it is to circumstances of this kind that we must attribute such errors as the chronological displacement of the Pyramid Builders in Book II [130]—and, doubtless, many others.

IV. Unstated Sources

The discussion of Greek ἀκοή leads naturally to the treatment of another factor in the source material of Herodotus which is of crucial importance though very much in the background of his thoughts—the long oral and written Greek tradition on Egypt. His mind had long been conditioned to certain attitudes towards the country and sown with certain facts before he even set foot there. To understand what he wrote on the subject we must try to establish the development of this tradition.

The Greek Tradition on Egypt

By the mid-Fifth Century B.C. there had been two periods of contact between Egypt and Greece separated by a considerable lacuna :

1. The Mycenaean Period.
2. The Eighth Century onward.

Experience of Egypt and a tradition thereon will have begun in the way outlined above (p. 77 ff.) during the Mycenaean Period. The lore thus accumulated almost completely perished in the ruin of Bronze Age

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[129] So also Sourdille, *La Durée et l'Étendue du Voyage d'Hérodote en Égypte*, Paris, 1910, pp. 12, n. 1, 200 ff.

[130] Vide infra, p. 188 ff.

Civilization but, despite what appears to be an absolute break in physical contact, some small fragments did survive to condition later attitudes to the country.

οὐδ' εἴ μοι δεκάκις τε καὶ εἰκοσάκις τόσα δοίη,
ὅσσα τέ οἱ νῦν ἔστι καὶ εἴ ποθεν ἄλλα γένοιτο,
οὐδ' ὅσ' ἐς Ὀρχομενὸν ποτινίσσεται, οὐδ' ὅσα Θήβας
Αἰγυπτίας, ὅθι πλεῖστα δόμοις ἐν κτήματα κεῖται,
αἵ θ' ἑκατόμπυλοί εἰσι, διηκόσιοι δ' ἀν' ἑκάστας
ἀνέρες ἐξοιχνεῦσι σὺν ἵπποισιν καὶ ὄχεσφιν.

Iliad, IX, 379 ff.

These lines must surely refer to Thebes at its period of greatness;[131] for they emphasize the riches, the huge size of the city and its martial might, a description which hardly fits the city which continued to be the theocratic capital of the Thebaid throughout the Eighth Century, the period when the *Iliad* was probably committed to writing. For our purposes, however, it is important to realize that the passage conveys the ideas of wealth, power and size and that these are consistent ingredients in later attitudes to Egypt and her civilization.

It is also possible that the tradition of Memnon, the beautiful king of the Ethiopians (*Od* XI, 522), is a vague memory of the Amenḥotpes, probably Amenḥotpe III of the Eighteenth Dynasty the period of greatest Mycenaean penetration.[132] Certainly in later times he was identified by Greeks with that monarch.[133]

Thus, from Mycenaean times vague memories of Egypt survived, embedded in oral tradition and eventually given their definitive form by Homer in the Eighth Century.

The next layer in the tradition on Egypt is that appearing in the *Odyssey*. This dates from the resumption of Greek contact with the Near East, whether direct or indirect, at the end of the Dark Ages.[134] The stages of

[131] Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments*, London, 1950, p. 97 ff.; Gilbert, "Homère et l'Égypte", *CdE* 14 (1939), p. 47 ff.

[132] Gilbert, op. cit., p. 48 ff.

[133] Manetho, *FgrH* 609, F. 2-3, p. 38 ff.; Wiedemann, *Ägyptische Geschichte*, Gotha, 1884, p. 386 ff.; Gilbert, op. cit., p. 49.

[134] (a) None of the presents mentioned ap *Od* IV, 131 ff. is Egyptian in character. They are Syrian or Phoenician. This suggests the Orientalizing Period (vide supra, p. 9 ff.). (b) The tale of the raid of Odysseus is certainly to be dated c. Eighth Century (vide supra, p. 11 ff.).

hearsay, autopsy and interpretation are here assisted by a vague tradition surviving from the Late Bronze Age and the following elements can be isolated :

1. The journey to Egypt is hard and rough (IV, 481 ff.; cf. III, 300).
2. Egypt is extremely wealthy (III, 301; IV, 125 ff.).
3. It is fertile (IV, 229 ff.).
4. The medical skill and wisdom of the Egyptians are noted (II, 15 ff.; [135] IV, 229 ff.).
5. Proteus occurs in relation to Egypt (IV, 365, 385). These passages prove that he is a great demi-god. Why he should be connected with Egypt is not clear.
6. The Nile, always called in Homer *Αἴγυπτος*, looms large even in the *Odyssey* (Monro-Allen, *Homeri Opera*, IV, Index s.v. *Αἴγυπτος*).
7. Menelaus had stopped over in Egypt on the way home from Troy (IV, 351 ff.) and was kindly treated.[136]
8. There is geographical information on *Φᾶρος* (IV, 351 ff.).
9. Egypt could be raided by Greeks but even a pirate could be well treated (XIV, 245 ff.).

All of these elements are reflected in Herodotus' interests. In the *Odyssey* the distance of Egypt has caused the country to be regarded as a place of marvels and a likely haunt of demi-gods. While Herodotus avoids demi-gods there is no doubt that *τὸ θωμάσιον* is a dominant feature in his account.[137] The fertility of the country is strongly emphasized by Homer and Herodotus (cf. II, 14) and the wealth of Egypt is frequently indicated at all periods. The skill of the Egyptians is frequently to the fore, particularly in Herodotus' accounts of their architectural achievements (vide infra, p. 143) and their wisdom is often mentioned (vide supra, p. 49 ff.). The prerequisites of Herodotus' account of King Proteus

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[135] The attribution of the name *Αἰγύπτιος* to the wise man in II, 15 can surely be no coincidence.

[136] This episode was also mentioned in the *Νόστοι* of Agias of Troezen (Evelyn-White, *Hesiod, The Homeric Hymns and Homerica* (*LCL*), London & Harvard, 1959, p. 526 ff.).

[137] For the great importance of *τὸ θωμάσιον* in choice of subject matter ap Herodotus *Book* II vide infra, p. 141 ff.

and Menelaus are also already found in the *Odyssey*. The recurrence of the Nile in Homer is paralleled by the long discussions devoted by Herodotus to the inundation (II, 19-27), the upper reaches of the river and the πηγαί (28-34). Finally, it should be observed that the kind treatment meted out to Menelaus and allegedly to Odysseus is echoed by Herodotus' insistence on the humanitarian behaviour of the Egyptians (II, 2; 45). It is, of course, true that the same things are likely to strike different people but the crucial importance of Homer in the education of Greek youths from an early age makes it highly likely that he was the channel through which information on Egypt was first received by the vast majority of Greeks and he must have had a considerable effect in creating attitudes and orientating interests throughout the development of the Greek tradition on Egypt.

It is, therefore, quite probable that the Homeric tradition, in which two chronological strata can be isolated, played an important rôle in orientating Herodotus' interest in the country both through his own reading and by nurturing a general tradition throughout Greek lands.

Hesiod says little of Egypt. The southern movement of the sun ἐπὶ κυανέων ἀνδρῶν δῆμόν τε πόλιν τε (*Op* 527) is a fact taken up and used by Herodotus to explain the inundation of the Nile (II, 24-26) but it hardly needs Hesiod as a source. Whatever the case may be with Hesiod, however, there can be little doubt that the writings of the Hesiodic School very quickly began to reflect the resumption of contact and the growing knowledge of Egypt during the Orientalizing Period, thereby contributing to the source material directly or indirectly influencing Herodotus. This is most conspicuously so in the Danaus Cycle of legends.

Such a statement may seem startling at first since there has been a recurring tendency for over a century to regard these traditions as an echo of dealings between Egypt and Greece in Mycenaean times. Movers,[138] Stubbings [139] and Astour [140] consider that the Danaus legends reflected the arrival in Greece of refugee Hyksos who then became the founders of Mycenaean Civilization while Persson [141] and Morenz [142]

[138] *Die Phönizier*, Bonn & Berlin, 1841-56, I, p. 46ff., II, 2, pp. 64, 127 ff.

[139] *CAH* Cambridge, 1963, II, Ch. XIV, fasc. 18, p. 9 ff.

[140] *Hellenosemitica*, Leiden, 1965, p. 92 ff.

[141] *New Tombs at Dendra*, London, 1942, p. 194 ff.

[142] *Die Begegnung Europas mit Ägypten*, Berlin, 1968, p. 60 ff.

suggested that they reflect the raids of the Sea Peoples on Egypt and the conflicts arising therefrom.[143] These interpretations are clearly mistaken.

If we accept that the Danaus tradition reflects historical contact between Greece and Egypt we should have two possibilities as to the period to which it refers :

(a) Mycenaean.
(b) Orientalizing/Archaic Period.

In deciding we must remember that legends are organic phenomena which grow and develop, add a little and lose a little according to circumstances. A legend may have a core of Mycenaean material but if it survives into classical times will have passed through a considerable period of time and been subjected to a variety of influences and modifications. The figure of Odysseus probably embodies reminiscences of some great Mycenaean ruler but the *Odyssey* contains surprisingly little that is specifically Mycenaean and much that dates from the Dark Ages, Orientalizing Period and Archaic times. The raid on Egypt, for example, is obviously a reference to Eighth or Seventh Century conditions. The inevitable deduction from this is that, although the chronology of the Danaus legend points to the Mycenaean Period, much of the matter will date to a later time. What of the Egyptian *Färbung*? Does this refer to Mycenaean conditions? The rarity of clear Mycenaean survivals in Greek epic tradition [144] and the extreme rarity of reminiscences of Egypt [145] which date to that time suggest that we ought, if possible, to find an alternative explanation. One is readily available viz. that the Egyptian elements reflect the resumption of contact after the Dark Ages. The example from the *Odyssey* quoted above proves that accretions concerning Egypt were being added to old Greek legends at that time.

The most sensible view of the Danaus legend is surely that it is, in the form known to us, a learned fabrication. Several facts point in that direction :

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[143] Vide supra, p. 6 ff.
[144] Kirk, *CAH* Cambridge, 1965, II, Ch. XXXIX(b), fasc. 22, p. 21 ff.
[145] Vide supra, p. 120 ff.

1. The tradition is dominated by eponyms. Danaus is the eponym of the Danaoi and Pelasgus, King of Argos, Phoenix and Aegyptus clearly play the same rôle in their respective nations.[146] This looks like conscious systematizing.

2. The earliest record of the legend appears to be in the fragments of "Hesiod" which Merkelbach and West include under the heading *Γυναικῶν κατάλογος sive Ἠοῖαι*.[147] We also hear of an epic called the *Danais* which Rose rightly discusses under the heading of "Hesiod and the Hesiodic Schools".[148] One of the most important characteristics of Hesiod and his successors is the urge to form coherent, logical systems to explain the phenomena of religious experience, nature and human society.

If we put these two pointers together we obtain a clear and convincing sequence of development. The Danaus legend of classical times was created probably in the Seventh Century to bring into relation the major parts of the known world by means of eponyms.[149] Danaus presumably already figured in early Greek tradition as did Phoenix and, probably, Pelasgus. The introduction of Aegyptus will then reflect the period of resumed contact from the Eighth Century onwards and may well have been suggested by the fact that Danaus was connected with Argos, which was in turn the home of Io, whose specious Egyptian affinities were well known and universally accepted. It is, therefore, preferable to opt for the later date.

The growth of Greek commerce in the Eastern Mediterranean led to the composition of *περίπλοι* or *περιηγήσεις* "descriptions of the coastline" which were used for navigational purposes and may occur already in the time of Homer. Traces exist in Herodotus of such documents

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[146] For the genealogy vide Aeschylus, *Supplices* and Pherecydes of Athens (*FgrH* 3, F. 21).

[147] *Fragmenta Hesiodea*, Oxford, 1967, F. 127-8.

[148] *Handbook of Greek Literature*, 4th Ed., London, 1951, p. 69. For a discussion of the *epos* vide Bethe *RE* IV, 2091 ff.; v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, *Aeschylos. Interpretationen*, Berlin, 1914, p. 16 ff.; Kaiser ap Morenz, *Die Begegnung Europas*, p. 220ff.

[149] This view is similar to, though not identical with, that of Kaiser (op. cit., p. 220 ff.) who dates the *epos* to the Sixth Century and regards it as being of Cyrenian origin.

(IV, 16; V, 49, 5 ff.) and examples survive from a later period, though demonstrably based on much earlier material.[150] A fragment of one at least is, however, identifiable in Book II where the explanation of the inundation in II, 20 is derived from Euthymenes of Massilia [151] but generally speaking the influence of these writers will have been indirect; for no one can seriously doubt that such works were important sources in the writings of two geographers who contributed much to Herodotus :

1. Anaximander of Miletus.
2. Hecataeus of Miletus.

1. *Anaximander of Miletus*

Geography. The influence of Anaximander probably comes to Herodotus largely *via* Hecataeus and is of great importance in geographical matters. Anaximander's interest in the subject presumably arose from his cosmological speculations according to which the earth was a cylinder resembling a column drum hanging in a sphere and maintained there by a tension similar to gravity.[152] Having reached this point he turned to the problem of the topography of the οἰκουμένη which he considered to be identical with the upper surface of the cylinder. His solution was markedly mathematical in character. The οἰκουμένη itself was surrounded by water and hence, presumably, the cylinder was given a raised edge. The *Erdinsel* was divided into two halves or continents, one Εὐρώπη and the other Ἀσίη, the dividing line being the water-line running from the Pillars of Hercules through the Mediterranean, up the Aegean. through the Black Sea and up the Phasis or Tanais to return to the surrounding ocean.[153] The dominance of mathematical considerations—the circle divided into two semi-circles—and importance of the typically Greek demand for symmetry is abundantly clear and even influences Herodotus (vide nn. II, 33-4). That Anaximander went further than these

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[150] Gisinger, *RE* XIX, 1, 841 ff.

[151] Vide n. ad loc.

[152] Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 6th Ed. (rev. W. Kranz), Berlin, 1951-2, I, 12, A11 & 26; Kirk & Raven, *The Presocratic Philosophers*, Cambridge, 1962, p. 134 ff.

[153] Kirk & Raven, op. cit., 102; n. II, 16.

sparse topographical statements is indicated by the tone of ancient references [154] and by the fact that abundant topographical information would have been available to him, particularly through the wide ranging commercial and colonizing activities of his fellow Milesians.[155]

Geology. Anaximander's theories on the drying up of the earth may have contributed in some way to Herodotus' discussion of sedimentation (n. II, 4, 3 ff.).

Meteorology. Anaximander's emphasis on the evaporation of water by the sun in causing meteorological phenomena [156] has at least parallels in Herodotus.

It may finally be noted that the idea of evolution occurs in Anaximander's writings [157] and that this concept can be found in Herodotus, though applied in a very different sphere.

2. *Hecataeus of Miletus*

Hecataeus is the only prose writer whom Herodotus quotes by name as a writer [158] (II, 143; V, 36, 125-6; VI, 137). His references convey the impression of a thoroughly practical and reasonable man. It is possible that the suggestion that the Milesians should take the treasure of Branchidae to finance their military operations against the Persians indicates a measure of impiety. Elsewhere it is difficult not to suspect Herodotus of adding a touch of ridicule to the picture. Does there not lurk in his breast a certain secret gratification that his great predecessor's advice was completely ignored in the Milesian council (V, 36)? Malicious joy there certainly is in II, 143 where the discomfiture of Hecataeus' genealogical pretensions at the hands of the priests of Thebes is recounted at some length and rubbed in firmly with the quip *καὶ ἐμοὶ οὐ γενεηλογήσαντι ἐμεωυτόν.*

Of the relationship between the two much has been written. There is

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[154] Diels, op. cit., 12, A6; Kirk & Raven, op. cit., 100-101.

[155] Kirk & Raven, op. cit., p. 104.

[156] Diels, op. cit., 12, A27; Kirk & Raven, op. cit., 131-135.

[157] Diels, op. cit., 12, A30; Kirk & Raven, op. cit., 136-140.

[158] Scylax is mentioned but only as an explorer (IV, 44, 1).

no doubt that Herodotus made use of Hecataeus' work in his *Histories* and that Book II is no exception but determining the precise passages is a far from easy task. Basically we can use two types of proof :

1. Ancient statements of dependence.
2. Inference.

(1) The importance of Hecataeus for Herodotus is proven beyond doubt by the ancient sources :

(a) Statement of dependence :

Suidas (*FgrH* I, T. 1).
Hermogen (ib., T. 18).
Porphyry (ib., T. 22, F. 324), asserting dependence in II, 70-71 and 73.

That these assertions should be treated with some degree of caution is, however, clear from the last case where Porphyry is demonstrably oversimplifying the situation; for it is evident that in the case of the Phoenix two other sources apart from Hecataeus are involved. *Ὄψις* is indicated by Herodotus' mention of a *γραφή* which he had himself seen and the *Ἡλιοπολῖται* also gave him information on the creature. It may be that Herodotus had said rather the same things as Hecataeus and that Porphyry has simply assumed thoroughgoing dependence, ignoring the clear evidence of a considerable degree of autonomy on Herodotus' part. This must lead us to the disturbing conclusion that these writers from time to time make the same mistake as many modern scholars who ought to know better—the assumption that similarity of subject matter automatically reflects dependence.

(b) Virtual or actual quotations from Hecataeus imbedded in ancient writers which bear a close resemblance to passages in Herodotus. Pure polemic (e.g. F. 302 ~ II, 19) is irrelevant in this context since in such a case Herodotus cannot be claimed to be *using* information from Hecataeus as he does e.g. in F. 301.

F. 300. Hecataeus' discussion of chronological matters with the Theban priests. The dependent II, 143 involves a complex amalgam of polemic against and use of Hecataeus.

F. 301. This proves that Herodotus derived the expression *δῶρον τοῦ ποταμοῦ* from Hecataeus.

F. 305. Dependence in II, 156, 1-2 but not, as Heidel argued, total. Herodotus has subjected the Hecataean tradition to ἱστορίη and what he gives us is his own view of the matter.
F. 322. Dependence in II, 77, 4.
F. 323. Dependence in II, 77, 4.

(2) Inference may be based on a number of factors :

(a) The known concepts or subject matter of Hecataeus. The interests of Hecataeus and Herodotus coincide in a number of important respects. Consequently, there is a distinct possibility that, when Herodotus is discussing the same topics as Hecataeus, he will use his predecessor's work.

Cartography. Hecataeus compiled a map (πίναξ) which we are told was a vast improvement on Anaximander's work (*FgrH* I, T. 12a) but it is clear from the expression διηκριβῶσεν in the *Testimonium* and by the very fact that the comparison between Anaximander and Hecataeus was made, that the schema of Hecataeus was not fundamentally different. His contribution probably lay in modifying the mathematical element in the old work in the interests of greater empirical knowledge and the addition of much more topographical information. Hence, he will have drawn a circular οἰκουμένη surrounded by Ὠκεανός (H., IV, 36~F. 36, 18, 302) in which the *Erdinsel* was divided into two continents by water (H., l.c.; the division of the Περίοδος (vide infra)) but he did not rest content with the πίναξ as Anaximander certainly had done. Probably as a commentary to the latter he composed a Περιήγησις or Περίοδος γῆς in two books (Εὐρώπη and Ἀσίη with Λιβύη as an appendage of the latter) which showed the same desire for mathematical divisions [159] and followed the time-honoured περίπλους technique (T. 25a; F. 196; 289; 332).

Herodotus also shows an interest in such matters. He discussed the topography of Egypt (II, 6-9, II, 15-17), the course of the Nile (II, 28-34) and has definite ideas on the physical layout of the world in general but the relationship with Hecataeus is complex and operates at various levels : [160]

[159] E.g. Libye (vide n. II, 32).

[160] Hecataean geography is sometimes indicated by the use of the word Ἴωνες (Jacoby, *RE* VII, 2678 ff.) but, generally speaking, it is best interpreted not simply as

(a) Dependence. II, 8 (cf. II, 15-17). The division of the Nile Valley into Libye and Arabia is based on the *Wassergrenz* principle for dividing land masses which dominates the thinking of Hecataeus (vide supra). Herodotus snipes at this view but, in fact, accepts it fully (nn. II, 15 ff.).
II, 11. The information on the Red Sea could have been obtained from Hecataeus' πίναξ.
II, 31 is certainly based on Hecataean cartography (vide n. ad loc.).
II, 32. The cartography of Libye is known to be Hecataean (vide n. ad loc.).
II, 34 probably derives from Hecataeus; for his cartography is known to have been influenced by the desire for symmetry (vide n. II, 33).

(b) Improvement. II, 6, 1 & II, 15, 1. The Ionian opinion on the northern border of Egypt, based on the *Wassergrenz* theory, is rejected and Herodotus' own substituted. This Ionian view was almost certainly shared by Hecataeus (vide supra).
II, 8. Improvement of the Double Ax theory of the topography of Egypt known to have been Hecataean (vide n. ad loc.).
II, 28-34. In the discussion of the course of the Nile Herodotus comes to conclusions totally different from those of Hecataeus who derived it from Ocean. He is, however, influenced by the desire for symmetry which was certainly a feature of Hecataeus' cartography (vide supra, p. 129 ff.).

Ethnography.

F. 322-3. Diet. Egyptian bread and beer, topics discussed by Herodotus himself.
F. 328. The Pygmies. This passage illustrates the influence of Homer on Greek Ethnography (cf. *Il* III, 6).
F. 334-5. Interest in mode of life i.e. whether a people is nomadic, agricultural etc.
F. 358. Interest in peculiarities of dress.

Much of the first half of Book II is ethnographic in character (35-42, 46-48, 59-67, 94-96). One passage certainly derives from Hecataeus

Hecataeus (so Jacoby) but "the Ionian Tradition of Geography" of which Hecataeus was the most conspicuous exponent; for it will also include many Ionian pundits whose oral communications were received by Herodotus and whose names are now lost beyond all recall.

(II, 77, 4 vide supra, p. 129) and it is possible that other matter does also but such data are easily gained by personal experience. Herodotus certainly visited Egypt and oral informants were available in large numbers. It is, therefore, conceivable that the importance of Hecataeus' ethnography lay mainly in orientating Herodotus' interest in one direction rather than another.[161]

Botany. T. 25, F. 291, 292 show an interest in vegetation. Herodotus also discusses botanical questions (II, 92, 94, 96, 1) but here *Quellenforschung* suffers from the same difficulties as were mentioned in the preceding section.

παράδοξα. Such things appealed to Hecataeus as to many other Greeks :

F. 305. The Floating Island of Chembis.
F. 324. The Phoenix, hippopotamus and the method of hunting the crocodile.
F. 327. The *Σκιάποδες*.

F. 324 proves that there is a legacy in this category. A fine example of a *παράδοξον* in Herodotus is the description of piscine behaviour in II, 93 but his entire attitude to the country is dominated by its *θώματα*.[162]

Mythology and Legend. In this field Hecataeus' interests ranged widely :

1. The Legends of Herakles (F. 23-30).
2. The Legends of Deucalion (F. 13-16).
3. The Argonauts (F. 17-18).
4. The Danaids (F. 19-22).
5. The Theban Cycle (F. 31-32).
6. The Pelasgians (F. 119,[163] 127). [164]

Let us deal with each of these in turn.

1. Herakles is frequently mentioned in Book II (II, 42-5; 83; 113; 145).

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[161] See further infra, p. 134 ff.

[162] Vide infra, p. 141 ff.

[163] The precise lines of demarcation between Hecataeus and Strabo are not clear. Consequently it is almost useless for our purposes.

[164] Jacoby places these fragments in the *περίοδος γῆς*. It is just as likely that they derive from the *Γενεαλογίαι*.

Hecataeus' influence is probable in one case at least (II, 45 with n. ad loc.) and possible in others. His interview with the Theban Priests (II, 143) has caused grave chronological qualms about Herakles but nothing of importance on this topic in II, 43-44 is derived from Hecataeus (vide n. ad loc.). II, 83 and II, 113 need no Hecataean source since II, 83 refers to an Egyptian god identified with Herakles and II, 113 derives from the priests. II, 145-6 may well owe something to Hecataeus; for the chronological indications break down neatly on a 40 year generation to 25 (1000 years), $22^1/_2$ (900 years) and 20 *γενεαί* (800 years) and Hecataeus appears to have used such a generation.[165] These figures are, in fact, probably based on the Spartan King List.[166]

2. Deucalion is never mentioned in Book II of Herodotus' history but he does appear in I, 56, 3 in a tradition which is almost certainly Hecataean.[167] Interest in the legend indicates that the latter was concerned with the problem of the first man and this in turn suggests that the version of the tradition ascribed to *Ἕλληνες* in II, 2 derives from Hecataeus,[168] a belief which II, 45 tends to confirm.

3. The Danaids were, according to Greek tradition, of Egyptian origin and their legend appears on several occasions in Book II (II, 91; 171, 3). It is likely enough that these passages owe something to Hecataeus.

4. Legends of the Theban Cycle are several times mentioned in Book II (II, 49, 3; 145, 4) and often appear elsewhere. Again some debt to Hecataeus is possible.

5. Hecataeus' tradition on the Pelasgians was certainly used by Herodotus. II, 51 embodies the tradition of F. 127, though it has been contaminated and confused with Herodotus' own view that the Athenians themselves and most Greeks were in origin Pelasgians (vide n. ad loc.).

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[165] Meyer, *Forschungen zur Alten Geschichte*, Hildesheim, 1966, I, p. 170 ff.; Prakken, "Herodotus and the Spartan King Lists", *TAPhA* 71 (1940), p. 460 ff.

[166] Vide infra, p. 178 ff.

[167] Jacoby (op. cit., 2679) argued that the first tradition was Hecataean on the grounds that this is a case where there is an opposition between *Ἕλληνες* and *Ἴωνες*. (cf. II, 16) .This is arbitrary. He himself admits that *Ἕλληνες* can refer to Hecataeus.

[168] The barbarism of this tradition will be a further indication of Hecataean origin if the suggestion that Herodotus is attacking Hecataeus in II, 45 is correct (vide supra).

It will be observed that no mention of the Trojan Cycle has been made in connection with Hecataeus. Strangely enough there is nothing in extant fragments deriving from that body of legend. It is, however, inconceivable that it should not have figured and we must allow for the possibility that something of the Tale of Proteus (II, 112-120) was found in Hecataeus. In fact, the mention of Pharos (F. 307), Canobus (F. 308-9), *Δούλων πόλις* (F. 345), the *Ἑλένειον* (F. 309) make it well nigh certain that it was discussed by him.[169] Nevertheless, it is likely that Herodotus does not have Hecataeus in the forefront of his thoughts here; for he certainly extracted some version of the tale from Egyptian priests and it probably existed before Hecataeus' time.[170]

Inference suggests, therefore, that Hecataean influence exists on matters of legend in II, 2, 5; II, 45 where he is attacked; II, 145-6 and that it is possible in II, 49, 3; 91; 112-120; 145, 4; 171, 3. It is certain in II, 51 where it caused no mean confusion.

(b) Another basis for inference is the fact that there is sometimes agreement between Herodotus and writers of the Sixth and Fifth Century B.C. This could be due to their all having Hecataeus as a common source : [171]

1. Aeschylus.[172] Edibility of the papyrus (*Supp* 761 ~ H., II, 92). Egyptian beer (*Supp* 952 ~ H., II, 77 ~ Hec., F. 323).
Egyptian *βᾶρις* (*Pers* 553 ~ *Supp* 836, 874 ~ H., II, 96).

2. Pseudo-Scylax.[173] II, 8 passim is paralleled by Pseudo-Scylax. (*GGM* I, p. 80 ff.) though improved by Herodotus. It is probable that the doctrine is Hecataean.

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[169] Jacoby, op. cit., 2677.

[170] Vide n. ad loc.

[171] Jacoby, op. cit., 2680-2681.

[172] J.'s idea that the division between Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt (cf. H., II, 77, 92) is mirrored in *Pers* 34 ff. will not do. Aeschylus is simply mentioning the two most famous Eg. cities, just as we might speak of Athens and Sparta.

[173] J. always refers to him as Scylax. He is, in fact, Pseudo-Scylax. The document was written c. 300 B.C. but since the compiler clearly used an old *περίπλους*, possibly fragments of Scylax himself, the value of the document for our purposes remains substantially unimpaired (Wiedemann, "Zu dem Periplus des Pseudo-Skylax", *Philologus* 46 (1888), p. 170 ff.; Gisinger, *RE* IIIA, 640 ff.; Ball, *Egypt in the Classical Geographers*, Cairo, 1942, p. 28 ff.).

II, 32, 1-4 is based on IV, 168-96. This entire section bears a close resemblance to Pseudo-Scylax *GGM* I, p. 81 ff. There is, therefore, little doubt that the geography of Libya derives from Hecataeus.

This method confirms Hecataean influence in II, 8, 32, 1-4 and II, 77. It also suggests the possibility of influence in II, 92 and II, 96.

By way of conclusion to this sub-section a cautionary note must again be sounded.

It should be remembered that isolating by inference cases where Hecataeus has been used as a source is an extraordinarily difficult undertaking for various reasons :

1. Similar phenomena would strike visitors to Egypt and they might discuss them with a high degree of independence. Both Hecataeus and Herodotus had visited Egypt and could be expected to discuss questions like the inundation, botany, shipping etc. Herodotus probably had some knowledge of what to expect because he probably knew Hecataeus before going to Egypt [174] but he can be shown to go far beyond his predecessor in explanation [175] and description.[176]

2. Hecataeus' work could not possibly have contained all that was known of Egypt. When he wrote there must already have been a rich store of ethnographical and geographic lore and some he will have taken up, much he will have set aside. The rejected matter would continue to be current and might have been picked up and used by Herodotus. There is, furthermore, a time lapse between Hecataeus and Herodotus during which the stock of information would continue to grow. To judge by surviving works of the Hippocratic Corpus the medical schools would have been particularly engaged in this. Thus great stocks of data were available over and above what was to be found in Hecataeus. Positive identification of the several strands cannot be achieved without the whole of Hecataeus and without positive dating of the works in the Hippocratic Corpus.

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[174] The best argument is the sheer unlikelihood that a man with Herodotus' interests would have failed to read Hecataeus at an early age but for the sceptical II, 143 may be of help.

[175] Sedimentation (vide infra, p. 137) and the inundation (n. II, 21).

[176] The Phoenix II, 73.

Hence we must conclude that only the cases listed in our first group can be regarded with slight and occasional reservations as certainly Hecataean. Those in our second group are very far from being positively established borrowings. Nothing else in Book II gets even remotely near the status of either.

Having elucidated, within the limitations of our evidence, the detailed legacy of Hecataeus to Herodotus, we cannot leave the subject without delivering a determined assault upon the almost universal tendency to overrate Hecataeus at Herodotus' expense. Let us deal first with Hecataeus the rationalist.

It is the firm conviction of many scholars—Diels,[177] Jacoby,[178] Heidel [179] and de Sanctis [180] to name only the most eminent—that Hecataeus was responsible for all the rationalistic elements in Book II. How far does the evidence substantiate this belief?

An impression of rationality is certainly conveyed by Herodotus' description of his political activities and this is confirmed by some extant fragments :

FgrH I, F. 1. The Introduction to the Genealogies contains a scorching indictment of the λόγοι generally current amongst the Greeks.

F. 26. The examinations of the εἰκότα [181] of the traditions concerning Herakles and the oxen of Geryon and their correction on the basis of geographical knowledge. It is argued that the common idea that Herakles was sent to Iberia or the island of Erytheia to bring back the oxen is quite incorrect. The explanation must be that Geryon was king in N.W. Greece where excellent oxen country was to be found.

F. 27. An attack on the tradition that Herakles had brought up Cerberus from Hades at Taenarum and the suggestion

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[177] Diels, "Herodot und Hekataios", *Hermes* 22 (1887), p. 436 ff.

[178] Op. cit., 2677-2678.

[179] Op. cit., passim.

[180] "Interno al Razionalismo di Ecateo", *RFC* N.S. 11 (1933), p. 5 ff. Cf. also Momigliano, "Il Razionalismo di Ecateo di Mileto", *A & R* 12 (1931), p. 133 ff.

[181] For the argument κατὰ τὸ εἰκός vide infra, p. 162 ff.

of a λόγον ... εἰκότα. It was really a deadly snake called "the Hell-hound" which Herakles brought to Eurystheus.

We must not, however, allow ourselves to be mesmerized by these three fragments and ignore the clear indications qualifying the picture very considerably.

Ibid., T. 10. Hecataeus speaks τὰ μὴ ὄντα and shares with many early writers the vice of getting συντεθραμμένοι τῷ ψευδεῖ διὰ τὰς μυθογραφίας.

T. 21. Heraclitus indicts Hecataeus along with Hesiod, Pythagoras and Xenophanes for lack of νόος. The comparison with the first two militates very strongly against Hecataeus' thoroughgoing rationalism.

F. 302. Hecataeus, in his discussion of the Inundation of the Nile, was inclined εἰς τὰς μυθώδεις ἀποφάσεις.

F. 305. The floating island of Chembis is described but there is no indication whatsoever of the scepticism so conspicuous in Herodotus' description.[182] In fact this scepticism is so emphatic that he may well be suspected of polemic against Hecataeus.[183]

F. 327. The Σκιάποδες are mentioned without any trace of denial.

F. 328. In the discussion of the fantastic tale of αἱ πυγμαιομάχοι γέρανοι there is no indication of criticism.

Is it not abundantly clear that Hecataeus' work must have been a curious amalgam of rationalism and fantasy, a character, moreover, which is only to be expected and easy to explain? Hecataeus lived at the end of the Sixth Century B.C. and would still not have been emancipated from the influence of epic poetry [184] whose authority was destined to last in some form or another throughout antiquity.[185] Hence Hecataeus would

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[182] II, 156, 1-2.

[183] This characteristic often accompanies H.'s treatment of Hecataeus vide supra, p. 86.

[184] Jacoby, op. cit., 2739.

[185] Strabo was a great champion of Epic Geography, (Thomson, *History of Ancient Geography*, Cambridge, 1948, p. 256; Paassen, *The Classical Tradition of Geography*, Groningen, 1957, p. 12).

not have denied every story he heard. Under the growing influence of Ionian physics he goes a long way but Greek knowledge of the world was not yet wide enough to prevent the appearance of fantasies such as F. 305 and 327. Anyone's concept of the possible is obviously based on his own experience and that of the society in which he lives. An experience largely confined to a small corner of the globe and one which, in addition, is periodically jolted by the news of θώματα from afar is not in the best position to reject reports of phenomena which violate what we, in our infinite wisdom, consider to be the laws of nature.

At this point it must already seem highly improbable that such a writer should be responsible for all rationalistic elements in Book II but there are two arguments which place this thesis beyond all question.

I. II, 5-14. Certainly the statement that northern Egypt was the δῶρον τοῦ ποταμοῦ derived from Hecataeus but it is equally certain, because based on the same authority, that the τεκμήρια by which Herodotus proves this point are Herodotus' own (F. 301). Indeed, it would be impossible to find more striking examples of rationalistic argument in the whole of Book II than this brilliant series of proofs—*and it is substantially if not entirely Herodotus' own* (vide nn. ad loc.)!

II. Proofs of the thorough permeation of Herodotus' mind with the rationalistic philosophy of his time are abundant throughout the book [186] and his familiarity with and use of the ideas and techniques of Fifth Century thought can hardly be claimed to derive from a predecessor whose *floruit* cannot reasonably be placed later than the Ionian Revolt! Herodotus, in fact, can be said to belong to a later and more advanced stage in the development of Greek thought and we should expect of him intellectual feats at least the equal of those which can be ascribed to his predecessor.

The champions of Hecataeus the rationalist against Herodotus the poor plagiarist have no vestige of a case.

It must also be pointed out that Hecataeus is capable of mistakes and absurdities which are at the least equal to anything which Herodotus himself ever made :

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[186] Vide infra, p. 156 ff.

F. 18a ~ F. 302 makes it clear that Hecataeus derived the Nile from Ocean. Herodotus had passed far beyond that (cf. II, 21 & 23).

F. 324. The absurd description of the hippopotamus (II, 71) derives from Hecataeus. The best description in this section, that of the crocodile, may well be Herodotus' own. For the F. in question only states that ἡ θήρα τῶν κροκοδείλων (II, 70) derives from Hecataeus. If Herodotus had taken the description of the animal as well, would not the F. read τὰ τῶν κροκοδείλων or περὶ τοῦ κροκοδείλου?

F. 326. The Oases (Ὑσαεῖς) are said to be a νῆσος μικρὰ καὶ μεγάλη Αἰθιόπων.

The expenditure of greater subtlety on further analysis is futile. Ultimately, the great importance of Hecataeus to Herodotus is not that Herodotus derived this or that sentence from him but lies rather in the crucial rôle played by Hecataeus in the formation of techniques and principles for genealogical studies and in the development of Ionian geographical and ethnographical tradition. In the course of evolution between Epic Poetry, the ancient repository of Greek Lore, and the great prose epic of Herodotus, with its sweeping concept of the stage on which the great conflict between Greece and Persia was fought, Hecataeus' position is crucial. He gave Herodotus a coherent geography and cartography and he gave him a systematic chronological scheme without which he could not have worked. Herodotus certainly alters and modifies both but he does not have to build them both with his own hands. We cannot say that without Hecataeus there would have been no Herodotus but we can say with complete confidence that without Hecataeus Herodotus could not possibly have been what he was.

We may now proceed to summarize the value of Hecataeus as a source in Book II. The following passages certainly derive something from him :

II, 2, 5. Ἕλληνες δὲ λέγουσι ... ταύτῃσι τῇσι γυναιξί.

II, 5, 1. ὅτι Αἴγυπτος ... δῶρον τοῦ ποταμοῦ.

II, 8, passim. The topography is essentially Hecataean, though 8, 3 is an improvement.

II, 11-12. Hecataean topography.

II, 15-17. Hecataean topography, though obvious improvements are made at II, 15, 1 and 17, 4-6.

II, 23. An attack on a doctrine which is certainly Hecataean.
II, 32, 1-5. Hecataean cartography.
II, 45. An attack on a Hecataean tale.
II, 51, passim. The Pelasgians in Attica.
II, 70, passim. The hunting of the crocodile.
II, 71, passim. The hippopotamus.
II, 73. Certainly owes something to Hecataeus but native Egyptian sources also contribute.
II, 77, 4. ἀρτοφαγέουσι ... διαχρέωνται.
II, 145, 3-4. Genealogies of the Greek gods.
II, 146. Genealogies of the Greek gods.
II, 156, 1-2. The Floating Island of Chembis (Chemmis).
II, 171, 3. The pre-history of the Peloponnese.

It is probable, on available evidence, that the following passages contain Hecataean matter but its precise limits are indeterminable :

II, 10. Interest in sedimentation in Greek areas.
II, 33-34. Ideas on symmetry.
II, 43. The genealogy of Herakles.
II, 44, 4-5. The wanderings of Cadmus.
II, 49. The history of Melampus and Dionysus, minus the Egyptian connection.
II, 91. The tale of Perseus.
II, 92. Botany.
II, 94. Botany
II, 96. Botany and the βᾶρις.
II, 98. Danaus and Archander.
II, 104. The origin of the Colchians.
II, 112-120. The tale of Proteus.
II, 165-166. The nomes of the *Μάχιμοι*.

V. *Conclusions*

We have ranged far and wide and it is now time to summarize the results of this lengthy discussion of the sources of Book II. It has been emphasized strongly that Herodotus would have encountered great difficulty in collecting and recording accurate information. Of this he was perfectly aware and had devoted considerable thought to the epistemological

problems involved, coming to the conclusion that the only solution was strict application of the principle of ἱστορίη. In pursuance of this stringent requirement his work is frequently signposted by statements of the sources employed. These stated sources are many and various. Much is claimed to have been seen first-hand (ὄψις). Much is allegedly the product of intelligent inference on the basis of personal experience. Above all, he emerges on his own *ipse dixit* as an indefatigable questioner of oral sources wherever they could be found, whether they were Egyptian, Libyan or Greek. Among his Egyptian informants the priests loom large but there is no reason to claim, as is usually done, that they were of low grade, even *ciceroni*. The character of the lore derived from them is perfectly consistent with a provenance in the highest ranks of the hierarchy, though it would be a mistake to assume that the ἱρέες were always of the same class.

There are also unstated sources whose influence was in some cases, e.g. Homer, probably unconscious. Anaximander and Hecataeus were certainly of great value to him, and in their case the reason for failing to indicate dependence was probably that their information had been subjected to enquiry before appearing in Herodotus and that the latter regarded such "enquired" data as entirely his own. Hecataeus is the most important but there has been a tendency to exaggerate this. In particular, it is quite mistaken to make him responsible for the rational elements in Book II. Finally, let it be emphatically reiterated that Herodotus' relationship to his predecessors involved a high degree of autonomy. He takes, tests, then uses and thes ynthesis is his own. Ἡροδότου Ἁλικαρνασσέος ἱστορίης ἀπόδεξις ἥδε.

CHAPTER FOUR

HERODOTUS' ATTITUDES AND INTELLECTUAL AFFINITIES

In the course of discussing the sources of Herodotus Book II it emerged that we not only had to consider the people from whom information was obtained but also the mind which processed the data. It was suggested that this acts as a filter or a catalyst, rejecting, selecting, modifying and processing in such a way that new information can be reconciled with existing preconceptions and thereby assimilated. We must now proceed to make a detailed analysis of the mind of Herodotus, laying bare its preconceptions and determining the extent to which his account of Egypt has been coloured by them.

I. *Τὸ θωμάσιον*

One of the most obvious predilections of the mind of Herodotus as it emerges in Book II is its taste for *θώματα*[1] That this is crucial in the choice of subject matter is expressly stated by Herodotus himself

> *Ἔρχομαι δὲ περὶ Αἰγύπτου μηκυνέων τὸν λόγον, ὅτι πλεῖστα θωμάσια ἔχει ἢ ἡ ἄλλη πᾶσα χώρη καὶ ἔργα λόγου μέζω παρέχεται πρὸς πᾶσαν χώρην. τούτων εἵνεκα πλέω περὶ αὐτῆς εἰρήσεται* (II, 35, 1).[2]

An analysis of the book demonstrates very clearly that this is nothing less than the truth.

First of all Herodotus emphasizes that everything in Egypt was topsy-turvy as compared with Greek customs (*τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ἔμπαλιν τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἀνθρώποισι ἐστήσαντο ἤθεά τε καὶ νόμους* II, 35, 2) and

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[1] Legrand, *Hérodote*, Paris, 1966, p. 45 ff. He writes generally that "Les descriptions de pays, chez Hérodote, sont en grande partie des recueils de merveilles (*θώματα*)" (p. 47). Cf. Wikarjak, "Qua ratione Herodotus in historia scribenda rerum delectum egerit", *Eos* 51 (1961), p. 239 ff.; Barth, "Zur Bewertung und Auswahl des Stoffes durch Herodot (Die Begriffe *θῶμα, θωμάζω, θωμάσιος* und *θωμαστός*)", *Klio* 50 (1968), p. 93 ff.

[2] Vide III, 60 for an intriguing parallel to this statement.

then proceeds to devote two chapters to the points where the Egyptians are at variance with everyone else. At the end of Chapter 36 the rigid format is abandoned but this attitude continues to permeate his thinking and to dominate his choice of subject matter e.g. *οἱ δὲ ἱρέες ξυρῶνται πᾶν τὸ σῶμα* (whereas in Greece long hair was not infrequent for priestly officials);[3] the organization of the priesthood is also diametrically opposed to that in Greece.[4] The same is true of the practice of leaving the *σπλάγχνα* and *πιμελή* in the body of the sacrificial animal [5] and the refusal to sacrifice pigs to any deites but Dionysus and Selene.[6] Contrasts also exist in *μαντική* (II, 83) and *ἰητρική* (II, 84). In fact, so wide ranging are the contrasts that Herodotus can write in II, 91, 1, virtually at the end of his ethnographical excursus, as his concluding impression that *Ἕλληνικοῖσι δὲ νομαίοισι φεύγουσι χρᾶσθαι, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἰπεῖν, μηδ' ἄλλων μηδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων νομαίοισι*. It was not, however, in customs alone that the land of Egypt presented precisely the opposite picture from Greece. The geographical circumstances of the country were a direct contrast, in particular *ὁ ποταμός* and *ὁ οὐρανός*.

The River Nile excited *τὸ θῶμα* because its behaviour was diametrically opposed to that of other rivers (*τούτων ὧν πέρι οὐδενὸς οὐδὲν οἷός τε ἐγενόμην παραλαβεῖν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἱστορέων αὐτοὺς ἥντινα δύναμιν ἔχει ὁ Νεῖλος τὸ ἔμπαλιν πεφυκέναι τῶν ἄλλων ποταμῶν* (II, 19, 3)). It was low in winter and flooded in summer. This is not, of course, the only reason for interest [7] in the river but it goes a long way towards accounting for the presence of the nine chapters devoted to the Inundation and, for that matter, the continued recurrence of the crux in later Greek and Roman writers.

As far as climate is concerned, it was above all the lack of rain, as compared with Greece, which astonished him and which he comments upon several times (II, 13-14; III, 10). He also insists that the climate of Egypt and Libya is unchanging (*εἰσι μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως Αἰγύπτιοι μετὰ Λίβυας ὑγιηρέστατοι πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ὡρέων ἐμοὶ*

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[3] n. II, 37, 2.
[4] n. II, 37, 5.
[5] n. II, 40, 2.
[6] n. II, 47, 2.
[7] Vide infra, p. 144.

δοκέειν εἶνεκεν ὅτι οὐ μεταλλάσσουσι αἱ ὧραι II, 77, 3) an impression which again, though strictly speaking mistaken, provides sharp contrast with conditions in Greece.[8]

There is more than this, however, to excite Herodotus' rich resources of wonder. Size is one of the commonest stimuli.[9] It is the tremendous size of the Labyrinth which attracts his attention, excites his wonder and leads him to devote a lengthy chapter to it. He informs us that it is λόγου μέζω and surpasses in labour and expense τὰ ἐξ Ἑλλήνων τείχεά τε καὶ ἔργων ἀπόδεξιν even if they were all put together and he then proceeds to give us a thumbnail, impressionistic sketch of the giddy, unending complexity of this huge structure which provides in sum θῶμα μυρίον. Lake Moeris inspires him to even greater transports of wonder (τοῦ δὲ λαβυρίνθου τούτου ἐόντος τοιούτου θῶμα ἔτι μέζον παρέχεται ἡ Μοίριος καλεομένη λίμνη II, 149, 1). Here it is the fact that man (χειροποίητός ἐστι καὶ ὀρυκτή) could construct such a prodigious lake (τῆς τὸ περίμετρον ... ἴσοι καὶ αὐτῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν ... βάθος ... πεντηκοντόργυιος) which excites astonishment. The account of the pyramids is dominated by the πόνος καὶ δαπάνη which they involved (II, 124-134; 148). While the temple of Athene at Sais is distinguished by its great size, a point about which Herodotus is particularly emphatic (καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν Σάϊ τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ προπύλαια θωμάσια οἷα ἐξεποίησε ... ὑπερβαλόμενος τῷ τε ὕψεϊ καὶ τῷ μεγάθεϊ ... μέγαθος ... ὑπερφυέας τὸ μέγαθος ... ὑπερμεγάθεας). The huge monolithic οἴκημα also excites θῶμα, particularly in respect of the labour which its size occasioned (II, 175), while the colossi of Amasis at Memphis call for comment for precisely the same reason (II, 176).

Although, however, the size of buildings excites such interest, they are never discussed simply because of that. Had such been the case we should have expected Thebes to receive a much fuller treatment than it

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[8] Vide infra, p. 165 ff.

[9] Sourdille, *La Durée et l'Étendue du Voyage d'Hérodote en Égypte*, Paris, 1910, p. 142 ff.; Legrand, op. cit., p. 48 ff.; Wikarjak, op. cit., p. 239. Kaiser writes (ap Morenz, *Die Begegnung Europas mit Ägypten*, Berlin, 1968, p. 205) "Das Ägyptenerlebnis Herodots ist wesentlich bestimmt vom Eindruck der Größe alles Ägyptischen". K. exaggerates but he has certainly put his finger on an important point.

gets. Herodotus is always drawn to a building by its association with some historical figure whom he has been discussing and only then does he give full rein to τὸ θῶμα. Of the cases discussed the only apparent exception is the Lake of Moeris but this is easily to be explained by the assumption that the momentum which he had worked up over the Labyrinth had carried him on to the even greater θῶμα next door despite the fact that it had nothing to do with the Dodecarchs. In any case, although King Moeris is not the subject of this section of the *Histories*, he had been discussed elsewhere and we might well argue that this case really falls into the same class as all the rest.

It is not only the works of man which need discussion under the heading of μεγάθεα. The geographical proportions of Egypt and the Nile also demanded Herodotus' attention for precisely this reason. Egypt, we are told, falls in the very top rank as far as territorial size is concerned (ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ γεωπεῖναί εἰσι ἀνθρώπων, ὀργυιῇσι μεμετρήκασι τὴν χώρην, ὅσοι δὲ ἧσσον γεωπεῖναι, σταδίοισι, οἱ δὲ πολλὴν ἔχουσι, παρασάγγῃσι, οἱ δὲ ἄφθονον λίην, σχοίνοισι) and it is in σχοῖνοι that the land is measured by Herodotus.[10] The proportions of the Nile excite ecstatic enthusiasm as it far surpasses in size anything to be found in the Greek world (II, 4; II, 10) and, as Kaiser points out,[11] it is this obsession with the largeness of the river which determines Herodotus' choice of explanation for the inundation. Its precise length had not been discovered but it was known to extend for a journey of at least four months by land and water (II, 31). Clearly the sharp contrast with the diminutive rivers of the Aegean area had generated an almost frantic desire to establish where exactly this monstrous watercourse actually did begin. It is part of the same order of things that in II, 97 the spectacle of Egypt flooded by the Nile can be compared to nothing less than the spectacle of the Aegean Sea with islands emerging from it while in another sphere it is worth observing that Herodotus makes frequent references, direct or oblique, to the huge population of Egypt.[12]

Extraordinary personalities and the deeds which they perform are also to be included under the heading of θώματα.[13] This is demonstrated

[10] Vide Kaiser, op. cit., p. 205 ff.

[11] l.c.

[12] II, 61; 124, 3; 158, 5; 165-6; 177, 1.

[13] Legrand (op. cit., p. 50 ff.) and Barth (op. cit., p. 104 ff.) take a similar view.

clearly by the Prooemium of the *Histories* where Herodotus describes his motive in publishing as ὡς μήτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα γένηται, μήτε ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωμαστά, τὰ μὲν Ἕλλησι, τὰ δὲ βαρβάροισι ἀποδεχθέντα ἀκλεᾶ γένηται ... It is deeds which show great moral and physical prowess, deeds which involve vast numbers of men, which are played out over a vast area and show dramatic vicissitudes of fortune which well concern him; for it is such which excite astonishment; it is such deeds which are θώματα. One obvious θῶμα in this sense in Book II is the history of the great conqueror Sesostris whose victorious campaigns brought the subjugation of Scythians and Thracians as well as the Colchians and many other inhabitants of Asia. Here it is above all the extent of the conquests which excites wonder. In the tale of the treasury of Rhampsinitus it is the wealth of the king (πλοῦτον δὲ τούτῳ τῷ βασιλέϊ ... οὐδ' ἐγγὺς ἐλθεῖν II, 121α) and the amazing ingenuity of the protagonists which prove irresistible. In the account of the early career of Psammetichus it is largely the dramatic qualities, the sudden, astonishing turns of fortune which excite his interest—the quadruple περιπέτεια (Prince to refugee in the time of the Ehtiopians; refugee to Dodecarch; Dodecarch to refugee; refugee to king of all Egypt) [14] and the ἀναγνώρισις where the riddling oracle becomes suddenly plain.[15] In the account of Amasis there is something of the θωμάσιον in the contrast between his character and conduct and the office which he held, a contrast on which Herodotus descants at some length [16]—but enough has already been said to make the point. Τὸ θωμάσιον plays an important rôle in the choice of the characters whom Herodotus is to discuss and the tales which he tells of them—examples could be multiplied indefinitely.[17]

Apart from the opposites, features characterized by great size, extraordinary events and astonishing behaviour which we have already discussed there is a whole range of παράδοξα which cannot easily be ranged under any heading and which are discussed by Herodotus because they have excited τὸ θωμάζειν through being unexemplified

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[14] II, 151; 152, 1; 153.

[15] II, 152, 3-5.

[16] II, 173.

[17] Cf. Legrand, op. cit., p. 50 ff.

in Greek contexts and, in many cases, contrary to the *ethos* of Greek Civilization. In this taste for paradoxography Herodotus shows himself——as usual—thoroughly Greek.[18] Circumcision (II, 37, 2), the extreme reverence shown to sacred animals (II, 65 ff.; it is no coincidence that the Apis bull is the best recorded god in Herodotus),[19] the grim warning issued at feasts to "eat, drink and be merry" (II, 78) and the practice of mummification (II, 86-89) all fall within this category. The choice of animals for discussion clearly also depends on *τὸ παράδοξον*. Not only was the domestic cat unknown in Greece but the bizarre story of its reactions to fire was irresistible.[20] The crocodile is in itself an astonishing animal but also has the distinction of presenting the widest known difference between size at birth and full grown proportions (*πάντων δὲ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν θνητῶν τοῦτο ἐξ ἐλαχίστου μέγιστον γίνεται* (II, 68, 2). The extraordinary method employed for hunting them in Egypt also excited so much astonishment that it seemed *ἀξιωτάτη ἀπηγήσιος* (II, 70, 1). The hippopotamus (II, 71), the Phoenix (II, 73), the horned snakes (II, 74) and the ibis (75-76) are also all in several ways *παράδοξα* and attracted Herodotus' attention for that reason. The same is true of *οἱ ἰχθύες οἱ ἀγελαῖοι* whose eccentric mating customs form one of the finest examples of paradoxography in the whole of Herodotus. In another sphere, the description of Egyptian methods of boat building and navigation may be regarded in much the same light; for they differed *toto caelo* from anything which was known in Greece. The account of the floating island of Chemmis owes its inclusion to the same feeling. Admittedly Herodotus is sceptical of the tale but it is such an amazing story that he cannot resist telling it anyway. One of the least obvious *παράδοξα* and yet one of the most important and all pervasive is the unparalleled antiquity of Egyptian Civilization which is often before Herodotus' mind and which is one of the major factors in explaining

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[18] For concentrated doses of paradoxography vide Westermann, *Παραδοξογράφοι*, Braunschweig, 1839, but examples abound in the literature of all periods (Ziegler, *RE* XVIII, 3, 1137 ff.; Spoerri, *Artemis Lexikon*, Zürich & Stuttgart, 1965, 521 ff.).

[19] Sourdille, *Hérodote et la Religion de l'Égypte*, Paris, 1910, pp. 151, 216 ff.

[20] II, 66 with n. ad loc.

the interest in Egyptian History in the second half of the work and his great reverence for Egypt in general.[21]

It is clear from the foregoing study that τὸ θωμάσιον dominates Herodotus' mind when he contemplates the spectacle of Egyptian Civilization. He was continually faced with phenomena which were diametrically opposed to Greek practice, of great size or simply at variance with everything which he had experienced or heard of anywhere else. The words ὥστε πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα ἀποθωμάζειν με τῶν περὶ Αἴγυπτον ἐόντων, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τὸν Λίνον ὁκόθεν ἔλαβον (II, 79, 2) speak volumes for his *Ägyptenerlebnis*. The selection of subject matter is necessarily carried out under the influence of this factor. Nevertheless, we should not assume from this that Herodotus was not interested in points of similarity. By the very fact that so much was different the points of similarity are thrown into sharper relief and, in the most striking cases, i.e. when they rise to the status of θωμάσια, often receive a considerable amount of space. Herodotus remarks upon the similarity of the festivals of Dionysus in Egypt and Greece and devotes a chapter to the subject (II, 48). The parallelism between Spartan and Egyptian reverence for the aged is also noted with interest (II, 80). In II, 91, having noted the dissimilarity of Egyptian customs as compared with those of other peoples, he goes on to discuss at length an example of a striking similarity in the customs of the inhabitants of Chemmis in Upper Egypt.

II. Post hoc ergo propter hoc

The discussion of similarities and differences between Egypt and Greece brings us to a further factor of immense importance to the understanding of Herodotus' thought both in Book II and the *Histories* in general. His mind is markedly subject to the *post hoc ergo propter hoc* fallacy i.e. the assumption that if *a* comes before *b* then *b* is a result of *a*. For this proposition we are not dependent upon inference; for the fallacy

[21] Kaiser (op. cit., p. 208 ff.) prefers to discuss this point under the heading of size which seems a little strained. However, by his view or mine we are certainly dealing with a θῶμα.

comes explicitly to the surface in II, 58. Here Herodotus pleads the case that *πανηγύριες*, *πομπαί* and *προσαγωγαί* were introduced into Greece from Egypt and gives as his *τεκμήριον-αἱ μὲν γὰρ φαίνονται ἐκ πολλοῦ τευ χρόνου ποιεύμεναι, αἱ δὲ Ἑλληνικαὶ νεωστὶ ἐποιήθησαν*. The process of thought is absolutely clear—there are *πανηγύριες* in Egypt and Greece; they are older in Egypt; therefore, the Greeks have got them from Egypt. This line of argument where temporal relations are automatically confused with causal sequence has sometimes been claimed to be a basic characteristic of the primitive mind but, unfortunately, it is not confined to such societies. It has had disastrous effects in the study of cultural history ever since men started thinking on such matters and is still to be found as the basis of all diffusionist theories of culture. Once this element in the structure of Herodotus' mind has been grasped, many problems become immediately soluble. It helps, first of all, to explain the large number of claims made both by Herodotus and other Greek writers that the Greeks owe elements in their culture to Egyptian sources.[22] It also helps us to understand the strange picture of the *Urgeschichte* of Greek Religion which we obtain in Book II and which provides so striking an example of the workings of the fallacy that it is worth examining in detail.

According to Herodotus there are three major ingredients in Greek Religion :

1. The Pelasgian.
2. The Egyptian. This stratum was acquired in two phases (a) Early (b) Later when Dionysus was brought to Greece by Cadmus.
3. The Libyan.

This scheme is almost entirely the consequence of the working of the fallacy in question. Stratum 2 arises because Herodotus considers that he has established the presence of a cult of Zeus, Dionysus, Athene and other Greek gods in Egypt at an early period. These gods were worshipped in Greece during classical times. Egyptian culture is older than that of Greece. Therefore he claims that *σχεδὸν ... καὶ πάντων τὰ οὐνόματα τῶν θεῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐλήλυθε ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα* (II, 50, 1). He cannot,

[22] Vide supra, p. 49 ff.

however, find an Egyptian prototype for Poseidon, the Dioscuri, Hera, Hestia, Themis, the Charites and the Nereids. Poseidon presented no problem; for Herodotus had discovered what he imagined to be an old cult of Poseidon in Libya. The Greeks must have got it from there—and that gives us stratum 3. We are left then with stratum 1. The only thing the remaining gods could be was Pelasgian.[23] Then, according to Herodotus, this disparate material was finally systematized by Hesiod and Homer in a body of theological doctrine which was to be considered highly suspect.[24] The account of the founding of the oracle of Zeus at Dodona [25] is to be explained in precisely the same way.

The fallacy is also to be seen operating in many other cases e.g. geometry is alleged to have come from Egypt (II, 109) as is the doctrine of metempsychosis (II, 123), the *νόμος ἀργίας* (II, 177) and the mysteries (II, 49, 51, 81, 171). The discussion of circumcision in II, 104 must also be interpreted in precisely the same light.

III. *Schematization*

The next aspect of Herodotus' mind to be treated is its tendency to schematization. In fact Greeks in general, more than most men, had a marked taste for simple schematized patterns. In the case of the Greeks it takes distinctive forms due to the peculiar habits of the Hellenic mind. Perhaps the major characteristic of the latter is its tendency to think in terms of a dualism involving balanced, antithetical pairs.[26] There are the One and the Many, Light and Dark, Left and Right, Being and Seeming, Odd and Even, *ὀλίγοι* and *δῆμος*, *μέν* and *δέ*—a whole range of polar opposites permeating the universe and recurring again and again in ancient Greek philosophy.[27] Of the opposites mentioned that of the One and the Many is perhaps the most important since the relationship

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[23] Vide nn. II, 49-53.

[24] Vide n. II, 53.

[25] Vide nn. II, 54-57.

[26] Lloyd, *Polarity and Analogy*, Cambridge, 1966, p. 15 ff.

[27] E.g. Heraclitus (Kirk & Raven, *The Presocratic Philosophers*, Cambridge, 1962, p. 189 ff.), Pythagoras (op. cit., p. 236 ff.) and Parmenides (op. cit., p. 269 ff.).

between the two is the Ariadne's thread running through all Greek physical speculation.

This observation leads us naturally to another factor of importance for the characterization of the Greek mind. This relationship between the One and the Many was usually expressed in the form that all come into being out of one substance but it has a further ramification which is of considerable importance—the implication of a linear sequence. That the process of development from the One to the Many was conceived in linear terms is clear from Hesiod who is the first to present us with the ἀρχή doctrine. In the *Theogony* the source is given as Chaos and all phenomena are derived from it in an orderly sequence of generations. All comes from One and the phenomena of the universe are connected in linear sequences.[28] Such a taste for the straight line finds visual analogies in the chess-board pattern of Hippodamian town-planning and in Greek architecture where lines are predominantly straight.

The twin convictions that everything has one source and that phenomena can be connected in linear sequences has applications in fields other than physics. In ethnography, for example, it finds expression in the widely current obsession with the πρῶτος εὑρετής, according to which every cultural achievement and all inventions were due in each case to one single individual who then passed it on to contemporaries and subsequent generations.[29]

The Greek mind is also characterized by a fundamental sense of rational order. There is a λόγος which is comprehensible and capable of expression.[30] This attitude is embodied in doctrines like δίκη, the physical and moral order of the universe maintained by Zeus which is the basic theme of Hesiod's *Works and Days* and a common subject in much archaic and classical literature.[31] It is also the basis of the teleological view of the universe which occurs for the first time explicitly in a

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[28] Vide n. II, 53, 2.

[29] This concept is discussed by Kleingünther, *Πρῶτος Εὑρετής Philologus* Supp. 26, 1 (1933), passim but particularly p. 40 ff.

[30] Heraclitus was particularly explicit on this point (Kirk & Raven, op. cit., p. 187 ff.).

[31] Vide supra, p. 56, nn. 230-1.

fragment of Diogenes of Apollonia [32] and appears frequently afterwards.[33]

On the basis of this discussion we may now proceed to predicate certain qualities of the Greek mind. It is clear that it had a marked predilection for rational order which tended to find expression in terms of balance, antithesis and symmetry. It also liked linear patterns and, where possible, sought out a single source for multiple phenomena. It is self-evident that such a mind would be prone to schematization and all too often the Greeks succumbed to this temptation. Of this point Kitto writes "... the Greek tended to impose pattern where it is in fact not to be found, just as he relied on Reason where he would have been better advised to use observation and deduction" and again "Greek philosophy sought for uniformity in the multiplicity of phenomena, and the desire to find this uniformity led to guesswork and neglect of fact in the attempt to frame a comprehensive theory."[34] A careful study of Book II shows that Herodotus was no exception.[35]

Parallels to the concept of the single source and the linear scheme are immediately obvious. The chronological framework of the *Histories* shows these tendencies to a marked degree in that it presents us with a single source viz. Herakles from whom several royal families are derived together with several linear sequences of generations.[36] As far as possible Herodotus and his fellow genealogical researchers have drawn up a simple, coherent, "monist" scheme which, in its basic thought patterns, bears a striking resemblance to the monist physical systems of thinkers like Anaximander and Anaximenes.[37] Exactly the same tendencies are revealed in the application of the *post hoc ergo propter hoc* fallacy to cultural history which is discussed in detail above (p. 147 ff.).

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[32] Kirk & Raven, op. cit., p. 433 ff.; Jäger, *Theology of the Early Greek Philosophers*, Oxford, 1967, p. 155 ff.

[33] Jäger, op. cit., p. 179 ff.

[34] Kitto, *The Greeks*, Harmondsworth, 1957, pp. 187, 190.

[35] Cf. Vogt, "Herodot in Ägypten", *Genethliakon Wilhelm Schmid. Tübinger Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft* 5, Stuttgart, 1929, p. 126 ff. ~ Marg, *Herodot*, Darmstadt, 1965, p. 422 ff.

[36] Vide infra, p. 171 ff.

[37] We demonstrate that Herodotus probably played some part in drawing up this scheme infra, pp. 174, n. 10, 180 ff.

The comparison of Egyptian and foreign customs in II, 35-36 provides a classic case of over-schematization, showing both a taste for antithetical opposites similar to that of the Pre-Socratics and the urge to establish an orderly scheme on *a priori* principles at times quite at variance with the facts. Here there is no shadow of doubt that Herodotus, or his source, has occasionally allowed his enthusiasm to run away with him.[38]

The account of mummification (II, 86-89) provides another example of schematization arising from Greek habits of thought. Here it is the taste for a simple, coherent schema which does the damage. He describes 3 separate methods, graded according to price, and creates a strong impression that this arrangement was absolutely standard throughout Egypt. It is quite clear that he is mistaken and that the organization was nowhere nearly as precise and orderly as he would have us believe. This case also suggests a further observation. When Herodotus makes general statements about Ancient Egypt on the basis of quite inadequate local observations—and this he probably did more often than we can say—he is, to some extent, motivated by the predilection for simplicity.

Another example of the pernicious schematizing effects of the obsession with antithesis and symmetry is probably to be found in the account of the Labyrinth (II, 148) where we read *οἰκήματα δ'ἔνεστι διπλά, τὰ μὲν ὑπόγαια, τὰ δὲ μετέωρα ἐπ' ἐκείνοισι, τρισχίλια ἀριθμόν, πεντακοσίων καὶ χιλίων ἑκάτερα*. Since the excavations make it clear that such an arrangement was impossible,[39] the best explanation seems to be that Herodotus had heard of the existence of some underground chambers beneath or near the main body of the building and had been led by a taste for antithesis to the assumption that there were two complementary series *τὰ μὲν ὑπόγαια, τὰ δὲ μετέωρα*.

Yet another example is probably provided by the account of the history of Naucratis. It is evident from his statements in II, 178 that Herodotus considered all the *τεμένη* to have come into existence at one and the same time viz. the reorganization of the city in the reign of Amasis. That he is mistaken is certain but the error is easily explained when we bear in mind that the Great Temenos, unlike the others, *was* founded in that reign. Herodotus, or his source, has obtained information on this point

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[38] Vide nn. ad loc.

[39] Lloyd, "The Egyptian Labyrinth", *JEA* 56 (1970), p. 98 ff.

and, under the influence of the taste for a simple, orderly scheme, has assumed that *all* the τεμένη dated to the same period and the same foundation.[40]

IV. Curiosity

A further characteristic of Herodotus' mind is the fascination with the details of how things are done and in this again he shows himself a true Greek. Homer delights in explaining at great length how Odysseus constructed the boat which took him away from Ogygia [41] while Thucydides frequently spends a great deal of time in similar exposition. We are given a detailed account of the mechanics of the siege of Plataea, both of the techniques of attack and defense,[42] and the same is true of the siege of Syracuse.[43] The same passion for exact and detailed information occurs several times in Herodotus Book II. The account of Egyptian ship-building in II, 96 is certainly motivated in part by the fact that the Greeks, being a maritime people, would naturally have an interest in such matters but the taste for detailed technical exposition is quite evident. The same trait emerges in the discussion of the building of the Great Pyramid (II, 124-5) where the engineering details are recounted at great length. Parallels to this predilection would not be found easily in a modern historian. When discussing the defeat of the Spanish Armada, for example, most writers would be aware and would state that the English had the advantage of "race-built" galleons but it would be a rare bird indeed who would have the interest or take the trouble to describe them at length. We may legitimately doubt, however, whether an Herodotus could have resisted the temptation.

The explanation for this characteristic both in Herodotus in particular and Greeks in general is clear enough. First of all, the inordinate curiosity of the Greek mind [44] would inevitably lead to the acquisition of such learning. Secondly, most Greeks, both ancient and modern, are

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[40] n. ad loc. for a detailed discussion.

[41] *Od* V, 228 ff.

[42] II, 75-78, III. 20 ff.

[43] VI, 96-VII, passim.

[44] On this quality in Herodotus vide Legrand, op. cit., p. 37 ff.

endowed with a basic urge to communicate what lore they possess, the urge, in fact, which impelled Hesiod to recount at considerable length the techniques of farming which were, in many cases, self-evident to most Greeks.[45] Thirdly, such mastery of technical detail increases considerably a person's authority and prestige whether writer or no.

V. *Φιλοβάρβαρος*

Enthusiasm for a foreign culture may easily lead to a generally derogatory attitude towards one's own and it is difficult to escape the suspicion that Herodotus, like many since, has fallen into this trap.[46] Indeed, his enthusiasms are only equalled by his curiosity and we find him several times in Book II being led by them to decry the attitudes of his fellow countrymen and belittle their achievements. The passage where this note is most clearly sounded is the discussion of Greek alluvial rivers in II, 10. Here Herodotus insists several times, in emphatic terms, on the puny nature of the Greek examples (*ὡς γε εἶναι σμικρὰ ταῦτα μεγάλοισι συμβαλεῖν. τῶν γὰρ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία προσχωσάντων ποταμῶν, ἑνὶ τῶν στομάτων τοῦ Νείλου ἐόντος. πεντασταδίου, οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν πλήθεος πέρι ἄξιος συμβληθῆναί ἐστι. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι ποταμοί, οὐ κατὰ τὸν Νεῖλον ἐόντες μεγάθεα, οἵτινες ...*). The Greeks may think that they have some big rivers but Herodotus knows better and is determined to leave them in no shadow of a doubt about the truth. Egypt is the place for *μεγάθεα*! An equally scoffing tone, inspired by knowledge of Egypt, is in evidence elsewhere. His complete confidence in the *dicta* of the Egyptian priests sometimes leads him to categorize Greek doctrines as *μάταια* or something similar (II, 2, 5; 45; cf. 118, 1). Furthermore, he is convinced of the moral superiority of the Egyptians as compared with his fellow countrymen. In II, 80 there can be little doubt that it is the *Λακεδαιμόνιοι* and *Αἰγύπτιοι* who have his approval in the question of behaviour towards one's elders, not the rest of the Greeks. In II, 119 the criticism of Menelaus and approval of the Egyptian Proteus are quite explicit. The discomfiture

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[45] Walcot, *Greek Peasants, Ancient and Modern*, Manchester, 1970, p. 20 ff.

[46] Legrand, op. cit., p. 94 ff.

of Hecataeus at the hands of the Egyptian priests is also recounted with relish, at least in part because it shows Egyptian superiority (II, 143). Even a man like Hecataeus is a mere nothing compared with these Egyptians! Greek buildings are not spared either. The temple of Artemis at Ephesus and that of Hera at Samos are big—but it is only by Greek standards. Yet another fond Greek illusion is ruthlessly and with much satisfaction demolished. The Labyrinth dwarfs them all and the Greeks have nothing which even approaches it (II, 148)! Plutarch's accusation that Herodotus was a φιλοβάρβαρος [47] has more than a measure of truth in it.

VI. Herodotus' Aesthetic Judgement

One final point should be made before we leave the subject of Herodotus' attitudes of mind. There is very little aesthetic judgement in Herodotus, either in Book II or elsewhere. Of this Legrand writes "Il est en général sobre d'appréciations sur leur valeur artistique,—peut-être, à vrai dire, parce que le vocabulaire de la critique d'art était, en son temps, fort peu développé".[48] For all that the occasional example does occur. In Book II, for example, we owe the description of the temple of Artemis at Bubastis to the fact that Herodotus' attention was drawn to it, not because of outstanding size, but because of its beauty and this he says quite explicitly—μέζω μὲν γὰρ καὶ πολυδαπανώτερά ἐστι ἱρά, ἡδονὴ δὲ ἰδέσθαι οὐδὲν τούτου μᾶλλον (II, 137, 5). It is, however, impossible to accept Legrand's explanation for the rarity of such cases. It is absurd to suggest that a simple statement that something is beautiful requires "le vocabulaire de la critique d'art". The explanation must rather be that in most cases aesthetic appreciation was completely overlaid by other factors and only rarely, for reasons buried deep in the mind of Herodotus and now undetectable, did he experience such an intense aesthetic reaction that it both overrode all other considerations and, at the same time, seemed worthy of mention in his *Histories*.[49]

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[47] *De Herodoti Malignitate*, 12 (*Mor* 857a).

[48] Legrand, op. cit., p. 48.

[49] It may not be without its significance that adjectives like καλός are much more frequently used of people than things (e.g. I, 30; V, 47; cf. VII, 187). On this point vide Wikarjak, op. cit., p. 239.

VII. Herodotus and Pre-Socratic Speculation [50]

To this point we have spoken of habits of mind which were widespread in Ancient Greece and have little to do with higher education however it may be obtained. It is now time to turn to Herodotus' intellectual affinities with contemporary thought which means, in effect, with the rationalist movement which began in Ionia and dominated the thinking of Greece, in one form or another, for ever afterwards. Its effects on Herodotus were so pervasive that we must attempt, first of all, to get some idea of what, precisely, Ionian rationalism was.

It is generally true of the human mind that it reacts to experience in two ways, the subjective and the objective. The first involves a high degree of emotional involvement with the stimulus, the second an equally high degree of intellectual detachment. This is not to imply that the two can ever be completely divorced. They are innate and, therefore, permanent qualities of the human mind but the emphasis can often swing violently and consistently in one direction rather than the other. In the history of thought the distinction is of considerable value and is often expressed in terms of the Mythopoeic Mentality and Rationalist Thought which correspond, respectively, to subjective and objective.

The Mythopoeic Mentality is described by Frankfort as that which adopts an I-Thou relationship towards the phenomenal world.[51] It reacts to power in the universe in personal terms. The lightning, the earth, sky, wind and rain are all experienced in a fashion analogous to personal relationships, i.e. they are felt as personalities. The corollary of this is that the interaction of these natural forces is conceived as the interaction of personalities and that in turn leads to Myth, the language of Mythopoeic Thought.

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[50] On this Nestle (*Herodots Verhältnis zur Philosophie und Sophistik*, Programm Schöntal, Stuttgart, 1908), despite some excesses, is still the best discussion. Cf. also Legrand (op. cit., p. 156 ff.), though he is, as usual, somewhat "hautain" and Barth ("Einwirkung der vorsokratischen Philosophie auf die Herausbildung der historiographischen Methoden Herodots", *Neue Beitr. zur Gesch. der Alten Welt. Zweite Internationale Tagung der Fachgruppe Alte Geschichte der Deutschen Historiker-Gesellschaft vom 4 bis 8 September 1962 in Stralsund*, I, 1964, p. 173 ff).

[51] *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man*, Chicago, 1946, p. 3 ff. under the influence of the early speculations of Lévy-Bruhl.

Rationalism, on the other hand, is based, again according to Frankfort, on an I-It relation which experiences phenomena as things or forces devoid of any human characteristics. Its attempts to make experience coherent and, thereby, tractable, inevitably lead to explanations in mechanical, physical terms.

The absurdities to which this distinction has been subject are well known.[52] There has never been, at any time, a completely Mythopoeic Mind or Culture and the same holds true of the Rationalist Mentality but this should not lead us to abandon the distinction completely. It *is* true to say that in some ages and in some societies mythopoeic premises have predominated while in other it is rational thought which holds the field. It is equally true to speak of the predominantly mythopoeic society as culturally the more primitive. Most, if not all, civilizations known before the Seventh Century B.C. fall into this category.

The great watershed in the history of thought is the age of Ionian Philosophy which begins for us with Thales, though the dawn is already seen breaking in the epic poets. Before Thales mythopoeic thinking holds the field, despite all the breaches in the wall, but with the early Ionians we quickly pass into a new and unheard-of realm—the realm of rationalism where certainly the divine has its place but where it is reason which is pre-eminent, seeking to discover the nature of the world and phenomena. This triumph of reason over *religio*, in a very real sense a triumph of the specifically Greek mind with its insatiable curiosity, permeates all subsequent Greek thought. It leads to a search for natural laws, to a demand for systems, for logic and coherence and it quickly develops into phenomenalism. Let us now proceed to analyse its effects on the author under discussion.

In reading Book II almost the first evidence of Ionian philosophy comes in II, 3 where Herodotus presents and reconciles a dilemma which can only be described as epistemological. Epistemology was, in fact, something to which much effort had been devoted by Herodotus' time. He had behind him a tradition which went back to the second half of the Sixth Century. About a generation before Herodotus Xenophanes

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[52] Lloyd, *Polarity and Analogy*, p. 3 ff.; Evans-Pritchard, *Theories of Primitive Religion*, Oxford, 1965, p. 78 ff.

(c. 570-475 B.C.) had written in terms which are very similar to those of II, 3, denying the possibility of true knowledge of the gods

> καὶ τὸ μὲν οὖν σαφὲς οὔτις ἀνὴρ ἴδεν οὐδέ τις ἔσται
> εἰδὼς ἀμφὶ θεῶν τε καὶ ἅσσα λέγω περὶ πάντων.
> εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα τύχοι τετελεσμένον εἰπών,
> αὐτὸς ὅμως οὐκ οἶδε· δόκος δ'ἐπὶ πᾶσι τέτυκται.

At about the same time Heraclitus of Ephesus [53] had faced squarely the same problem and found his solution by postulating the duality of reality and appearance which is familiar to us particularly through Plato,[54] though there were distinctly empirical elements in his theory of knowledge which strikingly recall Herodotus e.g. ὅσων ὄψις ἀκοή μάθησις ταῦτα ἐγὼ προτιμέω. The great difference resides in his concept of φρόνησις which enables man to apprehend the underlying λόγος of the universe.

Much more startling epistemological speculations occurred in the writings of the Eleatic School whose founder and most illustrious member was Parmenides (born c. 510 B.C.). He made a distinction between "the Way of Truth" and "the Way of Seeming" [55] and discussed at some length the means to differentiate between the two in order to arrive at an apprehension of what he describes as the Ἀληθείης εὐκυκλέος ἀτρεμὲς ἦτορ. Truth is concerned with τὰ νοητά whereas Opinion is the legacy of τὰ αἰσθητά. The philosophy is, therefore, adamantly opposed to the empiricist elements in Heraclitus and the thoroughgoing empiricism of Herodotus. These views had their followers e.g. Zeno but they did not fail to excite a violent counter-attack spear-headed by that redoubtable figure Empedocles of Agrigentum.

In his Περὶ Φύσεως Empedocles composed an anti-Parmenidean vindication of the senses as a guide to reality [56] and even attempted to define the nature of consciousness.[57] Anaxagoras also lays stress on the all important evidence of the senses.[58] The Atomists in their turn devoted

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[53] Kirk & Raven, op. cit., p. 182.
[54] Op. cit., p. 187 ff.
[55] Op. cit., p. 265 ff.
[56] Kirk & Raven, op. cit., p. 325.
[57] Op. cit., p. 357 ff.
[58] Op. cit., p. 393 ff.

much thought to the problem and present us with perhaps the strangest of all theories of perception. Since for them, however, perception was an imperfect guide to reality, they veered towards the being-seeming dichotomy which we have already discussed and not infrequently show a distinct tendency to scepticism. Protagoras of Abdera, almost an exact contemporary of Herodotus and probably known by him, showed a definite agnosticism in his epistemological thinking on metaphysical subjects. To him human limitations were such that no sure knowledge of the gods was possible. In the introduction to his *Περὶ Θεῶν* he wrote *περὶ μὲν θεῶν οὐκ ἔχω εἰδέναι, οὔθ' ὡς εἰσὶν οὔθ' ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶν, οὔθ' ὁποῖοί τινες ἰδέαν. πολλὰ γὰρ τὰ κωλύοντα εἰδέναι, ἥ τ' ἀδηλότης καὶ βραχὺς ὢν ὁ βίος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.*[59] He has thus taken the position of Xenophanes to its logical conclusion.

At this point chronology brings us back to II, 3 with which the discussion started. For our purpose it is important to observe that a clear distinction is being made in this chapter between the methods of treating the physical and metaphysical worlds which must have arisen from a profound meditation on the nature of human knowledge and its limitations. The things of the metaphysical world will be ignored because reason cannot reach them and they cannot, therefore, be the objects of *ἱστορίη*. Such views, of course, commit us to the proposition that Herodotus was basically a phenomenalist and his practice throughout Book II and, indeed, the *Histories* as a whole, confirms such a supposition.[60] This epistemological point of view explains his sceptical attitude towards Homer and the other epic poets [61]—an attitude shared with Xenophanes of Colophon—but it will be observed that Herodotus does not take his position to its logical conclusion. For him the gods exist. He is no agnostic despite the fact that, given his epistemological view, he could not logically even postulate *existence* of the gods. Even that should have been regarded as a completely open matter but this point in the argument was only reached, as far as we know, with Herodotus' contemporary Protagoras of Abdera.[62]

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[59] Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 6th Ed. (rev. W. Kranz), Berlin, 1951-2, II, 80, B4.

[60] Vide n. II, 3, 2. Kaiser (op. cit., p. 231 ff.) is of exactly the same opinion.

[61] II, 23, 53 with nn. ad. loc

[62] Vide supra.

It is not, however, only in his attitude to the gods that Herodotus' concern with epistemological problems is evident. When we discussed Heraclitus' theory of knowledge we quoted a fragment which emphasized the importance of ὄψις and ἀκοή as a means of discovering the truth and this immediately suggests that the extreme care with which Herodotus indicates sources and cross-checks evidence is to be seen within the tradition of Ionian theories of knowledge and is a direct expression of them.[63] If we consider Herodotus' achievement here with a little historical imagination, bearing in mind what must have gone before, it must assume considerable stature. Thucydides, of course, goes further with his brilliant and subtle insight into the problems presented by historical data [64] but this should not lead us to decry his predecessor. Legrand writes "C'est, sous plus d'un rapport, une critique simpliste" and to a Twentieth Century mind that may well seem the case—but then the wheel seems an obvious invention! [65]

One of the most impressive features of Book II is the great skill which Herodotus shows in argument, evincing at the same time considerable versatility, an easy mastery of contemporary science, a circumspection and sheer common sense which would do credit to any modern scholar. Of this Nestle writes that Herodotus, despite his taste for θώματα, is "erfasst von dem Geist rationalistischer Kritik, wie ihn, angeregt von der ionischen Philosophie, schon Hekataios betätigte und wie er in noch stärkerem Masse das Zeitalter der Sophistik durchwehte". [66]

Many different types of argument are in evidence. Most of the proofs used belong to the category of what later rhetorical theorists called πίστεις ἄτεχνοι but πίστεις ἔντεχνοι such as εἰκός and τὸ δυνατόν also figure. We discuss the most interesting examples under convenient sub-headings :

1. Elaborate inductive arguments showing a mastery of scientific method are not uncommon. In most cases Herodotus proceeds by the

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[63] Vide supra, p. 81 ff.

[64] I, 22 but object lessons abound throughout the work.

[65] I find much of value in Legrand's study of this point (op. cit., p. 88 ff.) but it will be clear that my attitude is more favourable to Herodotus than his.

[66] Nestle, op. cit., p. 35.

method of observation but it is at least possible that the account of the plumb line in II, 5, 2 embodies an example of the method of experiment. Cases of such inductive proofs are :

II, 5, 10-14. Here the thesis that Egypt is ἐπίκτητος γῆ is supported largely by an impressive series of geological proofs.[67]

II, 22. The melting snow-theory of the Inundation of the Nile is demolished by means of meteorological considerations as well as the behaviour of animals and the physical characteristics of the inhabitants of the south. Herodotus is largely in error but lack of experience and, *ipso facto*, knowledge rather than stupidity are the causes.[68]

II, 24-27. The sun-theory of the Inundation is championed by using current meteorological lore in an impressive argument which collapses basically because the premise of the close proximity of the sun to the earth is mistaken. Here again it is pardonable ignorance that does the damage, not lack of skill in argument.[69]

II, 104. At this point Herodotus is trying to prove that the Colchians were Egyptian in origin and sets about it by using the following arguments :

1. Physical characteristics shared by Colchians and Egyptians but observe the highly creditable note of caution (καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐς οὐδὲν ἀνήκει· εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ ἕτεροι τοιοῦτοι).

2. Similarity of customs :

(a) They both practice circumcision. Herodotus' confidence is here strengthened by finding that all other Asiatic practitioners of the custom claim to have derived it either from the Colchians or Egyptians.

(b) Colchians and Egyptians work linen cloth in the same way.

(c) ζόη is the same.

3. Language. The Egyptians and Colchians had similar languages. Such a linguistic argument is to be found in Xanthus of Lydia in his

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[67] Vide n. ad loc.

[68] Vide nn. ad loc.

[69] Vide nn. ad loc.

discussion of the provenance of the Mysians [70] and is also to be related to the well known Sophistic interest in linguistic phenomena.[71]

Of these τεκμήρια only one is certainly wrong viz. the proof by language. It must have been based on quite fortuitous similarities between certain words in the two tongues but, even though mistaken, it is an amazingly sophisticated line of argument. The weakness of the thesis is not the reasoning but the premise which consists in the basic unwillingness to admit the offensively untidy proposition that similar phenomena can have an independent origin. Given that premise and the philological error Herodotus' reasoning is sound—indeed impressive. Many a modern scholarly argument has been based on considerably more shaky foundations.

2. Argument by εἰκός is not uncommon. It would be surprising if the case were different. Not only had Hecataeus used it [72] but in Herodotus' own lifetime rhetorical teachers had built up an elaborate theory of εἰκός as a device in forensic oratory.[73] The earliest known τέχνη, that of Teisias, was written c. 460 B.C. and was almost exclusively devoted to the discussion of this topic [74] and as the century drew on it was discussed and employed on an ever larger scale. Its influence dominates the oratory of Antiphon and it is all pervasive in the writings of Thucydides, both in speech and narrative. It is also common in the works of the Hippocratic Corpus. A man so closely attuned to the thought of his age as Herodotus [75] could not fail to assimilate something of this and examples of argument by εἰκός are not difficult to find in Book II. In II, 22 Herodotus endeavours to prove the improbability of the melting snow hypothesis (οὐδὲ οἰκὸς ἀπὸ χιόνος μιν ῥέειν) by gathering together all the evidence he can find against it. He was clearly very impressed with his achievement because at the end of the chapter he clearly regards the case as no longer probable but proved (ὡς ἡ ἀνάγκη ἐλέγχει), a confusion of a sort not uncommon in modern learned writings. A similar use of

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[70] *FgrH* 765, F. 15.

[71] Nestle, op. cit., p. 34 ff. Cf. also Legrand, op. cit., p. 153 ff.

[72] Vide supra, p. 135 ff.

[73] Dihle, "Herodot und die Sophistik", *Philologus* 106 (1962), p. 218.

[74] Kennedy, *The Art of Persuasion in Greece*, London, 1963, p. 58 ff.

[75] Vide Nestle, op. cit., passim.

εἰκός is to be found in II, 25, 2 and II, 27. II, 43, 2-3 and II, 49, 2-3 are also proofs by εἰκός, though the word or its cognates do not occur in the sections in question. II, 45 provides us with an example of an important sub-group of εἰκότα viz. the πίστις κατὰ τὸ ἦθος which is of great importance in forensic oratory, particularly in Lysias. It is argued that the Egyptians could not have dealt with Herakles in the way the Greeks suggest because the Egyptians simply do not do that sort of thing. There are at least two examples of the related εἰκὸς κατὰ τὸ πάθος, i.e. by human nature, discussed by Anaximenes (*Rh. Al.*, 7). First, in II, 56 Herodotus corroborates the tradition that Dodona was founded by a priestess from Thebes by stating that ἦν οἰκὸς ἀμφιπολεύουσαν ἐν Θήβῃσι ἱρὸν Διός, ἔνθα ἀπίκετο, ἐνθαῦτα μνήμην αὐτοῦ ἔχειν.

The second example occurs in II, 120 where Herodotus corroborates the Egyptian version of the fate of Helen by pointing out the sheer improbability that a man would not give up the woman in the circumstances in which Priam found himself. *Εἰκός* also occurs in the discussion of the curious life-history of the Nile bream (II, 93) and the Rhodopis tradition (II, 134).

It will be observed that of these cases five are concerned with legends, three with geographical phenomena and one with zoology. Clearly Herodotus, like Hecataeus before him and Thucydides after, found it a particularly useful instrument for extracting the truth from legendary traditions.

3. Herodotus' methods of argument are characterized by a thoroughgoing empiricism. His conception of what can be and what cannot is firmly rooted in his experience of men and the phenomenal world so that traditions which contradict this are firmly rejected.

II, 28. Since experience convinced him that there was no such thing as a bottomless pit, he was compelled to find a mechanistic explanation.

45. Herakles was a man and could not possibly have slain πολλὰς μυρίαδας.

57. The tradition of speaking πελειάδες at Dodona must be wrong ἐπεὶ τέῳ τρόπῳ ἂν πελειάς γε ἀνθρωπηίῃ φωνῇ φθέγξαιτο;

156. The Floating Island of Chemmis does not exist. This example shows particularly clearly the close relationship between experience and belief in Herodotus.

In this trait Herodotus often reminds us of the attitude of the writers of *Sacred Disease* and *Airs, Waters, Places* who can write statements like ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ δοκεῖ ταῦτα τὰ πάθεα (sc. the affliction of the Ἀναριεῖς) θεῖα εἶναι καὶ τἆλλα πάντα καὶ οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἑτέρου θειότερον οὐδὲ ἀνθρωπινώτερον, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὁμοῖα καὶ πάντα θεῖα. ἕκαστον δὲ αὐτῶν ἔχει φύσιν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ καὶ οὐδὲν ἄνευ φύσιος γίνεται.[76]

4. Archaeological proofs are common.

II, 44. The existence of and information on the temples of Herakles at Thasos and Tyre are important elements in his theory of the origins of Herakles.

II, 103 & 106. Stelae are quoted as evidence of the extent of Sesostris' travels.

II, 131, 3. Refutation of a savage tradition of the death of Mycerinus' daughter by archaeological proof.

II, 135. The extant dedication of Rhodopis at Delphi is used to support his conviction that Rhodopis could not have earned enough to build the Third Pyramid.

5. Argument κατ'ἀναλογίαν. It is true to say that all argument is, in some sense or another, argument by analogy. However, the expression is generally used to describe a conscious use of information on one phenomenon to illuminate another. The method is of great importance in early Greek philosophy and its influence in Herodotus is clear.

II, 10. Analogy between the Nile and alluvial rivers of Greece and Asia Minor is used to explain the behaviour of the former.

II, 20. The refutation of the Etesian Wind-theory is based on the comparison with analogous conditions elsewhere. Since the rivers in Libya do not flood under the influence of the Etesian Winds, it cannot be the Etesians which cause the Nile to flood.

II, 33. Knowledge of the geography of Europe is used to illumine that of Asia and Africa. This is only possible here, however, because of the conviction that the earth is made up of two symmetrical halves and is, of course, mistaken.

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[76] *De Aer* XXII. Cf. *Morb. Sacr.* XXI.

II, 150. The Egyptian tradition on the method used to dispose of excavated soil during the digging of the subterranean channel from the Lake of Moeris to the sea is confirmed by analogy with a Babylonian tradition.

6. *Reductio ad absurdum.* II, 15.

7. Exposing a fallacy (II, 21 & 23). The theory that Ocean is the origin of the Nile cannot be accepted because it is question-begging. There is no evidence of the existence of any such thing Ocean.

8. Argument from λόγοι.

II, 43. The conviction that Herakles was an ancient Egyptian god is supported by the tradition of the Egyptian antecedents of Amphitryon and Alcmene.

II, 112. The legend of Proteus and Helen is used to support the thesis that the ἱρὸν ξείνης Ἀφροδίτης was a temple of Helen.

Normally Herodotus appears somewhat sceptical of λόγοι in Book II but in both these cases he has good reasons, apart from the tales, to hold the thesis in question.

9. Argument from chronology. In II, 134 the tradition that Rhodopis was the builder of the Third Pyramid of Giza is attacked amongst other things by emphasizing the chronological impossibility of the tale.

It has already been indicated that Herodotus was familiar with the scientific doctrines of his age. We should like to conclude this chapter by summarizing briefly the evidence for this contained in Book II.

Medical science had advanced considerably in the Greek world during the Fifth Century B.C. through the work of the schools of Cos and Cnidus and doctrines had emerged which are preserved above all in the Hippocratic Corpus. One of the most important of these was the doctrine of environmental determinism. This is pre-eminently expounded in the treatise *Airs, Waters, Places* whose thesis is summed up in one sentence viz. εὑρήσεις γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς χώρης τῇ φύσει ἀκολουθέοντα καὶ τὰ εἴδεα τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοὺς τρόπους.[77] One of the most im-

[77] XXIV.

portant environmental factors was considered to be the change in season (*ἅμα γὰρ τῇσιν ὥρῃσι καὶ αἱ νοῦσοι καὶ αἱ κοιλίαι μεταβάλλουσιν τοῖσιν ἀνθρώποισιν*;[78] *φυλάσσεσθαι δὲ χρὴ μάλιστα τὰς μεταβολὰς τῶν ὡρέων τὰς μεγίστας*) [79] to which the whole of Chapter XI is devoted and to which frequent reference is made. Absurdities there are, however, as one would expect.[80] We have already indicated that the Greek liked a simple scheme, one solution which would explain all, and once he had decided that environmental determinism was the key, he clearly intended to force everything into agreement with it.

Herodotus was obviously familiar with these doctrines.[81] In II, 77, 3 we find him explaining the remarkable healthiness of the Egyptians by the absence of *μεταβολαὶ τῶν ὡρέων* [82] but, unfortunately, he is as susceptible to the absurdities as to the wisdom of the school; for in II, 35, 2 the topsy-turvy nature of Egyptian *νόμοι* is ascribed entirely to the fact that the climate and river of Egypt were different from those found elsewhere (*Αἰγύπτιοι ἅμα τῷ οὐρανῷ τῷ κατὰ σφέας ἐόντι ἑτεροίῳ καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ φύσιν ἀλλοίην παρεχομένῳ ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι ποταμοί, τὰ πόλλα πάντα ἔμπαλιν τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἀνθρώποισι ἐστήσαντο ἤθεά τε καὶ νόμους*).[83] The doctrine is also employed in the account of the first experiment of Psammetichus but Herodotus' precise rôle in formulating this *λόγος* is not clear.[84]

Another Hippocratic doctrine saw the causation of disease in faulty diet and waste food. Herodotus mentions this view in II, 77, 2 and it is difficult to escape the assumption that the quick transition from the causation of disease to diet in II, 77 is also influenced by the same line of Hippocratic speculation.[85]

In the study of geography Herodotus is equally aware of the results of past and current researches. His views owe much to those of Anaximander and Hecataeus viz. that the world is made up of two symmetrical

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[78] II.

[79] XI.

[80] XIX-XXI, XXIII.

[81] Nestle, "Hippocratica", *Hermes* 73 (1938), p. 25 ff.

[82] Vide n. ad loc.

[83] Vide n. ad loc.

[84] Vide II, 2 with n. ad loc.

[85] Vide nn. ad loc.

land masses over which climatic areas and peoples are distributed in geometrically formal scheme [86] but he differs in that he denies the existence of Ocean and insists that there are three continents (Europe, Libya and Asia). He also refuses to accept Hecataean or any other views on the causes of the Inundation of the Nile and presents us with a theory which is explicitly stated to be his own (*εἰ δὲ δεῖ μεμψάμενον γνώμας τὰς προκειμένας αὐτὸν περὶ τῶν ἀφάνεων γνώμην ἀποδέξασθαι ...*).[87] The meteorological theories which lie at the back of the explanation undoubtedly owe something to the speculations of Anaximander and have much in common with attitudes expressed in the Hippocratic Corpus.[88] It is quite clear from a study of Herodotus' geographical theories that he takes from the past what is of value to him but shows considerable independence in using it, forming, in the process, a personal and original synthesis. Indeed, a reading of Herodotus' *Histories* suggests very strongly that such a description should not be confined to the geography of Book II but could aptly be applied to the entire work.

Closely related to geography is the science of geology and this was destined in Greece to receive considerable attention. By Herodotus' time much work had been done which did not fail to have its influence. Herodotus' discussion of sedimentation phenomena (II, 5-14) had antecedents in Anaximander and Hecataeus and was undoubtedly inspired by them. Herodotus also had an interest in fossils and earthquakes which owe something to the writings of men like Xanthus of Lydia.[89]

In ethnography Herodotus shows much the same interests as Hecataeus and, doubtless, many other enquirers.[90] It is particularly interesting to observe that he follows tradition even in the choice of peoples to whom he devotes his attention. Even a cursory reading of *Airs, Waters, Places* makes it clear that the original contained two detailed ethnographical excursuses, one on Egypt and one on the Scythians,[91] though the Egyp-

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[86] Vide nn. II, 15-18.

[87] II, 24, 1.

[88] nn. II, 24-26.

[89] Vide nn. ad loc.

[90] Vide supra, p. 130 ff.

[91] The beginning of Ch. XIII proves this.

tian section is now entirely lost. The prehistory of this situation is easily reconstructed. There were two symmetrical continents—Europe and Asia (*βούλομαι δὲ περὶ τῆς Ἀσίης καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης δεῖξαι* ...).[92] In accordance with their symmetrical arrangement they show a climatic symmetry, Europe having a cold zone balanced by Asia's hot zone. The people who best show the effects of these climatic conditions are the Egyptians in Asia and the Scythians in Europe.[93] This ethnographical antithesis together with the fact that their strangeness gave the Scythians and Egyptians the interest of *θώματα* and the fact that long intimacy with Greeks had given ample time for the peculiarities to force themselves upon Greek consciousness lead to a situation where the Scythians naturally become the classic barbarian people of Europe and the Egyptians the classic barbarian people of Asia.[94] At the same time they share one similarity—there is, within the nation, little variation in physique.[95] For these reasons the writer of *Airs, Waters, Places* devoted more attention to the Scythians than to any other European people and the same was clearly true of the Egyptians in Asia as emerges from what survives of the account of that continent, the emphasis on Egyptians at the beginning of Chapter XIII and the continuous reference to Egyptian ethnography in the discussion of the Scythians.

Such a situation is paralleled precisely in Herodotus. He tells us much of many peoples—Persians, Lydians, Libyans etc.—but by far the largest ethnographical excursuses are those devoted to the Egyptians in Book II and the Scythians in Book IV. He is clearly following established tradition.

It is, then, clear that Herodotus is writing within an Ionian tradition of ethnography but, as with geography, it is possible to isolate cases where he shows independence of thought and goes far beyond anything which we know from other sources. This is so in his account of the early history of Greek religion and its relations to Egyptian cults where Herodotus, working under the influence of current theories of social and biologi-

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[92] Op. cit., XII.

[93] *Περὶ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν Σκυθέων τῆς μορφῆς, ὅτι αὐτοὶ αὐτοῖσιν ἐοίκασι καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἄλλοις, ὡυτὸς λόγος καὶ περὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων* (XVIII). Cf. XIX.

[94] This antithesis is also noted by Heidel, *The Frame of the Ancient Greek Maps. American Geographical Society. Research Series* 20, New York, 1937, p. 20 ff.

[95] XIX.

cal evolution, produces an arresting tableau of development over centuries of time. [96] In the history of extant Greek literature Herodotus is the first to devote his attention in a scientific fashion to the problems of the development of religious phenomena and amply merits the title given him by Burckardt of "Gründer der vergleichenden Religions- und Dogmengeschichte".[97] This is not, of course, an honour accorded him for the manifold descriptions of cults and temples in his *Histories*; for these one must assume to have occurred frequently in the ethnographical discussions of Hecataeus. It is in the discussion of the history of Greek Religion and its development in interrelation with foreign cults and the speculations of the poets that the title has its basis. The account has already been analysed in detail. That it is the product of Herodotus' own mind is as certain as anything can be in such an enquiry, not only because we know nothing of such speculation in Hecataeus but because the discussion is quite unique and bears little relation to any other known theory of the origin of Greek or any other religion.

Although, however, Herodotus' scheme is unique, its very existence places him firmly in the current of pre-Socratic discussions of such matters. He belonged to an age where passive acceptance of traditional theology had evaporated. Xenophanes had emphasized the conventional nature of religious concepts and refused to accept epic views on the nature of the gods.[98] Prodicus of Ceos, on the other hand, was preaching that concepts of the gods arose by the deification of elements in the world which were of use to man [99] while Democritus endeavoured to explain the existence of the concept of deity as the result of dreams which were themselves the product of εἴδωλα emanating from the gods.[100] Critias was soon to compose his *Sisyphus* in which he pleaded the case that the gods were a colossal confidence trick invented by early lawgivers as a sanction for their legislation.[101] Such doctrines embody and confirm a general attitude of scepticism towards orthodox religious views which

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[96] Vide supra, p. 148 ff. and nn. II. 49 ff.

[97] *Griechische Kulturgeschichte*, III, Basle, 1957, p. 410; cf. Kaiser, op. cit., p. 235 ff.

[98] Diels, op. cit., 21, B15-16; Kirk & Raven, op. cit., 169-172.

[99] Diels, op. cit., 84, B5.

[100] Jäger, op. cit., p. 180 ff.

[101] Diels, op. cit., 88, B25.

naturally facilitated and indeed induced the application of rational enquiry to known religious phenomena. It is precisely this attitude which Herodotus shows in his analysis of Greek religious ideas and which enables him to present us with this earliest example of *vergleichende Religionsgeschichte*. The results are certainly mistaken but that does not alter the fact that Herodotus has created an ingenious and original synthesis. Given the conditions of his time we must regard it as little short of brilliant.

Finally, it should be recalled that Herodotus was a complete master of the genealogical researches which had been conducted up to his time.[102] The overall chronological scheme which lies at the basis of the *Histories* owes much to the work of Hecataeus and Xanthus both for the *Rüstung* itself and for the consciousness of the problems which were posed by the confrontation of Greek and Egyptian chronology. Here again, however, Herodotus takes what he wants and uses it to create for himself a viable scheme. His attempts to reconcile the difficulties sometimes fail abysmally but this lay in the nature of the information available from Greek tradition. How could he get back beyond the Sixteenth Century B.C.? How could the traditions on the birth of Herakles and Dionysus be reconciled with Egyptian λόγοι? If they are both accepted as true, Herodotus' remedy is the only way out of the dilemma. The results may seem rather childish to us but in the conditions of the Fifth Century with its own premises and presuppositions it must have appeared perfectly viable. Herodotus had collected and sifted the data, drawing what seemed to him and doubtless everyone else a series of reasonable conclusions. None of us can do more than that.

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[102] Vide infra, p. 171 ff.

CHAPTER FIVE

CHRONOLOGY

In the study of Book II of Herodotus' *Histories* chronological problems present themselves in two spheres :

I. Greek History e.g. the dates of Cadmus and Herakles.
II. Egyptian History e.g. the violent displacement of the Pyramid Builders.

Although, however, such a subdivision can be made and is, indeed, useful for purposes of exposition, we should not be misled into thinking that Herodotus treated chronology in watertight compartments. There can, in fact, be no doubt that when he set himself down to write the work which we know he had developed a coherent and systematic scheme to serve as the framework for his monumental study. It is necessary to devote some time to the discussion of this scheme for several reasons. First, it rises frequently to the surface in Book II. Secondly, the problems of Greek History and, to a lesser extent, those of Egyptian History cannot be solved without considering the overall plan. Finally, since the subject has given rise to much argument but little agreement, a statement of personal opinion is indispensable. On the other hand, the difficulties of Herodotus' Egyptian chronology often involve detailed discussion of Egyptological problems which are not immediately relevant to the overall plan. It seems advisable, therefore, to analyse the chronological scheme of Book II under two headings :

I. The Chronological Framework of the *Histories* as a whole.
II. Egyptian Chronology.

I. The Chronological Framework of the *Histories*

There are several reasons for believing that Herodotus devoted much thought to his chronological framework :

1. Herodotus' treatment of source material presents us with a scheme which has been carefully thought out and consistently applied.[1] The

[1] Vide supra, p. 81 ff.

reasonable assumption from this would be that we are dealing in Herodotus with a historian who is profoundly conscious of methodological problems and is perfectly capable of providing a satisfactory solution for them. That being so, we should expect his chronology to present a logical and systematic plan.

2. When Herodotus began to write there was already behind him a tradition of genealogical i.e. chronological research. Hecataeus and others had been faced with a host of traditions on the heroes of Greece—their ancestry, mutual dealings and progeny. Tribes, clans and families often traced back their lineage to such heroes. Many of the genealogies in question were contradictory and the work of the genealogists, impelled by the urge to logical coherence which is heralded by Hesiod and his followers, consisted in trying to create a coherent and consistent scheme, by comparison, adaption, addition, and modification.[2] Such studies and their methods were well advanced by the time of Herodotus and a man so deeply imbued with the spirit of his times and so aware of past and present research could not fail to be influenced by them.[3]

3. A history composed on the scale of the work of Herodotus would necessarily present considerable chronological difficulties. It covered almost the whole of the known world and its traditions and could not have been written without coming to terms with these problems.

There can, then, be no doubt that Herodotus must have had some chronological scheme in mind when he began to write the *Histories*.[4] What was it?

The German scholar Strasburger some years ago suggested a framework which involved several ingredients : [5]

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[2] Vide Prakken, *Studies in Greek Genealogical Chronology*, Lancaster, 1943; Mitchel, "Herodotos' Use of Genealogical Chronology", *The Phoenix* 10 (1956), p. 48 ff.

[3] For Herodotus and contemporary thought vide supra, p. 156 ff.

[4] Den Boer ("Herodot und die Systeme der Chronologie", *Mnemosyne* 4 Series 20 (1967), p. 30 ff.) assumes that Herodotus is quite haphazard in his chronology. The Persian King List is there because he is following oriental practice. It will be clear already why I cannot accept this view.

[5] "Herodots Zeitrechnung", *Historia* 5 (1956), p. 129 ff.; "berichtigte und erweiterte Fassung" ap Marg, *Herodot. Wege der Forschung*, XXVI, Darmstadt, 1965, p. 688 ff.

(a) A *Rückgrat* formed by the Medo-Persian King List. This is supplemented in its early part by the Lydian King List and is paralleled by the Egyptian King List.[6]

(b) The ribs were formed by a series of synchronisms of which there are hundreds in Herodotus.[7]

(c) The Archonship of Calliades (480-79 B.C.) which forms the peg date.[8] The great difficulty in building up a chronological scheme in Greece was the fact that most states had quite distinct methods of dating. If his readers were to orientate themselves, Herodotus needed to give them a date which would be meaningful throughout the Greek world and from which anyone could establish a precise date for earlier phenomena by dead reckoning. The Archonship of Calliades provided such a date because it was the year of the Battle of Salamis, an event of great importance to all inhabitants of the eastern Mediterranean, and also the date of the Battle of Himera which saw the defeat of the Carthaginian threat in Sicily and was, therefore, a year of considerable significance in the west. Any Greek, wherever he lived, would, therefore, be able to obtain a chronological fix on any date in Herodotus' *Histories* by counting back from that year along the line formed by the Medo-Persian and Lydian King Lists and diverging, if necessary, to pick up a synchronism.

This scheme of Strasburger is characteristically brilliant and there is much to be said for it but there are points where we are compelled to disagree. Nevertheless, it does isolate the basic factors which need to be discussed. Let us deal with them in the order in which he presents them.

(a) *The King Lists*

The King Lists in Herodotus clearly play a crucial rôle in the chronological plan. They constitute a series of vertical piles around which information is disposed and since the dominant list is the Persian Strasburger has some justification in referring to it as the *Rückgrat*. In fact, the Medo-Persian and Lydian Lists taken together run back from 480 B.C.

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[6] Op. cit., p. 151 ff. ~ 721 ff.

[7] p. 157 ff. ~ 730 ff.

[8] p. 135 ff. ~ 698 ff.

to the birth of Herakles in the Fourteenth Century and parallel with that we have the Egyptian List and the Spartan List. Let us try to isolate this schema.

The Lydian King List

Information on this subject is presented in Book I, 7 ff. and may be tabulated as follows :

Heraklids
Herakles.
Alcaeus.
Belus.
Ninus.

22 γενεαί of 505 years. (I, 6, 4)

Agron. First Heraklid King of Sardis. Preceded by the family of Lydus, son of Atys.
↑
19 γενεαί
↓
Myrsus.
Candaules.

Mermnades.
Gyges 38 years (I, 14, 4).
Ardys 49 years (I, 16, 1).
Sadyattes 12 years (I, 16, 1).
Alyattes 57 years (I, 25, 1).
Croesus 14 years (I, 86, 1).

We can easily convert into modern chronology as far back as Agron. Since Croesus, on Herodotean chronology, came to the throne in 561-0,[9] the date of the accession of Agron would fall c. 1220 B.C. by dead reckoning and the date of Herakles, on the Herodotean scheme of 3 γενεαί to 100 years, would be 1220 + 100 + c. 30 = c. 1350 B.C.[10]

[9] Strasburger, op. cit., p. 705.

[10] The scheme of Herodotus gives a date for Herakles which harmonizes with that given explicitly in II, 145, 4 (Ἡρακλέϊ δὲ τῷ Ἀλκμήνης κατὰ εἰνακόσια (sc. ἔτεά ἐστι ἐς ἐμέ) i.e. c. 1350 B.C.). To postulate a 40 year generation would not.

The Medo-Persian King List

Medes
Deioces 53 years (I, 102, 1).
Phraortes 22 years (I, 102, 2).
Cyaxares 40 years (I, 106, 3).
Astyages 35 years (I, 130, 1).
Persians.
Cyrus 29 years (I, 214, 3).
Cambyses, Smerdis } 8 years (III, 66, 2 & 67, 2).
Darius 36 years (VII, 4).
Xerxes (VII, 7 & 20, 1).

Perseus clearly figured in the Persian King List used by Herodotus (VII, 61, 3). We are told that Kepheus was the eponymous founder of the Kephenes and, as is the case with most, if not all, such eponymous heroes he will have been regarded as the king. His grandson Perses, son of Perseus and Andromeda, will have succeeded him as king and was responsible for a change of name from Kephenes to Persai. We may, then, assume that Perseus figured in the Persian King List used by Herodotus in precisely the same way as Herakles in the Lydian i.e. he was the ancestor of the kings, not a king himself.

The Egyptian King List

The Egyptian King List is presented in tabular form on p. 186 ff. For our present purposes there are several observations which need to be made about it :

1. It begins at a point of remote antiquity which is without parallel anywhere in the *Histories*. This is of great importance in understanding Book II. Nowhere else [11] was such a chronological perspective available to the Greeks; for the antiquity of the civilizations of Mesopotamia and

[11] The foundation date of the temple of Herakles at Tyre which is given as 2300 years before H.,'s visit (n. II, 44) goes well beyond the limits of Gk. chronology but is nothing like as spectacular as H.'s information on the fabulous antiquity of Eg. Civilization.

Asia Minor was something of which they had not the vaguest inkling.[12] The researches of the Greek chronologists could go back no further than what we call the Sixteenth Century B.C. The traumatic effects of the new knowledge of the millennial past of Egypt can be gauged from the experiences of Hecataeus with the Egyptian priests and the extreme embarrassment of Herodotus in reconciling Greek and Egyptian traditions on Herakles, Pan and Dionysus.[13] It is this which explains why chronological problems loom so large in Book II.

2. In the chronological statements on which the tabulated list is based we find greater emphasis on genealogical chronology than anywhere else. This, according to Prakken [14] and Den Boer,[15] is the only system employed by Herodotus and is found in two forms. In origin it consisted simply of fixing an event or person in time by quoting the distance from another point in terms of generations but later it developed into a system where the generations were converted into years according to a fixed scheme. Both earlier and later stages in the development of this system are found in Herodotus but the question of the mechanics of the second stage has given rise to much controversy. Many scholars have taken the view that Herodotus and his sources worked with a fixed number of years for each generation and they have been able to deduce a number of different standards from his work :

1. $33^1/_3$ years (II, 142, 2).[16]
2. 30 years (VII, 148, 4; Thucydides, I, 23, 4. Taken together these two texts suggest a generation of 30 years).[17]
3. 40 years (I, 163, 2; III, 23, 1).[18]
4. 25 years (Lydian Chronology).[19]

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[12] Drews, "Assyria in Classical Universal Histories", *Historia* 14 (1965), p. 129 ff.

[13] n. II, 43, 145-6.

[14] Op. cit., p. 18 ff.

[15] Op. cit., p. 30 ff.

[16] Prakken, op. cit., p. 19.

[17] id., op. cit., p. 20.

[18] id., *TAPhA* 71 (1940), p. 460 ff.; Den Boer, *Laconian Studies*, Amsterdam, 1954, p. 5 ff. The generation of c. 23 years mentioned by Prakken (*Studies*, p. 21 ff.) has nothing to do with Greek chronography.

[19] Drews, "The Fall of Astyages and Herodotus' Chronology of the Eastern Kingdoms", *Historia* 18 (1969), p. 1 ff.

The question at issue, however, is whether Herodotus worked on the basis of a standard length for a generation at all. Indeed, there is reason to believe that he did not. For in II, 142, 2 we have a positive statement of policy on matters chronological—the only one in the whole work—to the effect that Herodotus is, in the case in question, adopting the equation 3 generations = 100 years.[20] There is no attempt to arrive at the length of a generation by dividing by 3 whereas if Herodotus had been interested in such precision he would have done just that. The very fact that the length of a generation, irrespective of the source, is allowed to fluctuate so much in Herodotus' *Histories* proves that such exactitude was the last thing in his mind. Surely, then, Mitchel [21] is absolutely right when he suggests that Herodotus used the equation 100 years = 3 generations simply as a yardstick, without taking the further step of postulating $33^1/_3$ years to a generation. If, for example, he were faced with the problem of converting 9 generations into years he would simply divide by 3 and multiply by 100 to get the answer. If he had 10 generations to convert, he would do the same and add whatever he felt to be necessary as the equivalent of the remaining generation. In the particular case of the calculations in II, 142 Herodotus will have proceeded according to the same basic principle, perhaps dividing 341 by 3 to give 113 with 2 generations over and then multiplying 113 by 100 to give 11, 300 years. To this he would then have added 40 years which he considered, for some reason best known to himself, to be the span occupied by 2 generations. But whatever the details of his method, the probability is that Herodotus worked with the equation 3 generations = 100 years and not 1 generation = $33^1/_3$ years.

3. Herodotus gives enough evidence in the course of discussing the kings of Egypt for us to establish his date for the Trojan War, within narrow limits, on the basis of internal data :

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[20] Mitchel's insistence (op. cit., p. 62) that this is part and parcel of what Herodotus was told by the priests is certainly wrong; for if the priests had been responsible, the chronological data would be given in *oratio obliqua* like the preceding sentence. Surely the change to *oratio recta* must mean that this statement is a comment by Herodotus himself.

[21] Op. cit., p. 63.

(a) According to II, 145, 4 Pan, son of Penelope, was born after the Trojan War about 800 years before Herodotus i.e. c. 1250 B.C.
(b) According to the same passage Herakles, son of Alcmene, was born 900 years before H. i.e. c. 1350 B.C.
(c) The context of II, 145, 4 suggests that the Trojan War fell between these two dates i.e. between 1350-1250 B.C. We can, however, get nearer than that. For we can fix the upper terminus of the reign of Proteus who was on the throne before the Trojan War (II, 112) and after it (II, 119). We can do this on the basis of the following data :

1. Proteus' predecessor Moeris is dated firmly c. 1350 (vide infra, p. 187).

2. There are two kings between Moeris and Proteus, one being Sesostris, whose achievements must have consumed a decade or so. 20 years for both these kings would not be unreasonable.

Therefore, the reign of Proteus began c. 1330 and the Trojan War must date some time later than that between c. 1330-1250 B.C.

The Spartan King List

Since a consideration of this subject also enables us to determine Herodotus' dates for Cadmus, Herakles, and Dionysus we deal with these topics together.

King List

			V, 59-61
			Cadmus
			Polydorus
			Labdacus
			Laeus
VII, 204	VIII, 131	IV, 147, 1	Oedipus
Herakles	Herakles	Polyneices	Eteocles
Hyllus	Hyllus	Thersander	
Cleodaeus	Cleodaeus	Teisamenes	
Aristomachus	Aristomachus	Autesion	
Aristodemus	Aristodemus	Theras [22]	

[22] Synchronism based on IV, 147, 1, contradicted by V, 59. This scheme fits the statement on the date of Cadmus in II, 44, 4.

Eurysthenes	Procles
Agis	Euryphon
Echestratus	Prytanis
Labotas	Polydectes
Doryssus	Eunomus
Agesilaus	Charilaus
Archelaus	Nicander
Telecles	Theopompus
Alcamenes	Anaxandridas
Polydorus	Archidamus
Eurycrates	Anaxilaus
Anaxander	Leotychidas
Eurycratidas	Hippocratidas
Leon	Hegesilas
Anaxandridas	Menares
Leonidas	Leotychidas

The Spartan King List employed a 40 year generation.[23] It gives a date for the birth of Herakles of 40 × 21 + 480 = 1320 B.C. which harmonizes with the date c. 1350 B.C. given by II, 145, 4.

Dionysus ὁ ἐκ Σεμέλης must, according to the genealogy in II, 145, 4 and V, 59, be contemporary with Labdacus and must date c. 1420 B.C. on the Herodotean count (1320 + 100). This harmonizes with and confirms the reading κατὰ χίλια ἔτεα of 145, 4.

Cadmus, who is placed five generations before Herakles in both II, 44, 4 and V, 59 ff., will date, on the Herodotean count, c. 1320 + 100 + c. 60= c. 1480 B.C.

These lists reveal several interesting facts :

1. Three contain a Greek hero. In the case of the Lydians and Spartans it is Herakles while in the case of the Persians it is Perseus. It should also be pointed out that the founder of the Scythian royal family was also Herakles (IV, 8 ff.).

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[23] Prakken, op. cit., p. 20; Meyer, *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte*, Hildesheim, 1966 (Reprint of 1892 Ed.), I, p. 170 ff.

[24] The King List and figures based on it may be based on a 40 year generation but we cannot tell what scheme was employed before that point. We use Herodotus' scheme of 3 generations = 100 years.

2. The date for Herakles which can be deduced from the Spartan and Mermnad King Lists falls in the Fourteenth Century B.C. and agrees essentially with the figure given II, 145, 4.

3. In three cases Herakles is said to have founded royal families and even in the case of Egypt he is brought into some chronological relationship.[25]

4. The use of different generation lengths is beyond all doubt. There are two schemes—a 40 year generation and a scheme postulating 3 γενεαί = 100 years The first is possibly Hecataean, the second is certainly Herodotean.

5. Native king lists containing precise information have also been used. This is stated to be the case for Egypt [26] and is obviously true of the allegedly Heraklid rulers of Lydia and probably the Mermnads themselves.[27] The Persian list may also owe something to such sources.

The implications of these facts are self-evident. We are faced with the genealogical researches of at least two scholars, probably more, one of them certainly being Herodotus. They employed Greek genealogical traditions expressed in years and γενεαί as well as information from oriental sources which was expressed in lists and years. This information, systematized and correlated, formed the basis of a chronology which was made up of *stemmata* many of which took the form of King Lists. Their beginning was successfully fixed in the Age of Heroes before and during the Trojan War which was as far back as they could possibly go in a Greek context. It is clear that in these researches the Greeks responsible showed

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[25] II, 43.

[26] II, 100, 1.

[27] Xanthus of Lydia is a distinct possibility as the *immediate* source. He is stated to have given Herodotus τὰς ἀφορμάς and is certainly used by him in Book II (vide supra, p. 167). The information may well *derive* from an official list. The datum that the Heraklid rulers from Agron to Candaules inclusive amounted to 22 generations which covered 505 years cannot be based on any known Greek genealogical scheme. On the other hand it gives an average reign length which accords well with that for oriental rulers in ancient and modern times. The Mermnads may also derive from this source but Greek experience of Lydian History would give them an alternative means of obtaining this information. Forrest's desire to emend to 12 ("Two Chronographic Notes", *CQ* 19(1) (1969), p. 101, n. 4) is, therefore, quite unjustified.

a marked tendency to what may be called a historical monism in the sense that genealogies are derived, where possible, from a common source viz. Herakles [28] whose world-wide travels made him an admirable instrument for this purpose. The importance of this aspect of his character emerges in the discussion of the origin of the Scythian Kings.[29] The two exceptions are Persia and Egypt. The first is easily explained by the similarity of sound between Perses and Perseus and we can be quite certain that, had it not been for this convenient homophony, the Persian List would have suffered the same fate as the others. The reason for the exception in the case of Egypt is equally clear—the information available an Egyptian chronology was so full that Herakles simply could not be placed anywhere near the beginning of the king list.

Of the lists in question, the Lydian, Egyptian and Persian are expounded or emerge at length in the first three books of the *Histories*. The Spartan List, on the other hand, occurs only in Book VII. Can we, then, seriously maintain that it is a chronological *trame*? The answer must be affirmative. There are dates by Spartan Kings in Book I which Herodotus gives without further ado *because he expects his readers to have access to the list of Spartan Kings as presented by Hecataeus.* Such information was easily obtainable and he had nothing to add. In the case of Lydia, Egypt and Persia, on the other hand, he was dealing with less familiar material, had probably added much of his own, and felt obliged to reveal in some detail his chronological views. The list of kings in Book VII is not there as a chronological aid at all, though derived from the Hecataean list. It is there, first of all, to indicate the noble ancestry of Leonidas which formed at once the guarantee and gauge of his success. Secondly Herodotus is on the threshold of the narrative of a great and solemn event, the magnificent Spartan defence of Thermopylae, and this highly formal dignified introduction emphasizes the point. Thirdly, it makes it quite clear that despite the *ἀπροσδόκητον* he was a legitimate successor. All this does not in any way invalidate the point that the list of Spartan Kings was one of the chronological props of the *Histories*. It simply suggests what common sense would lead us to expect viz. that there was

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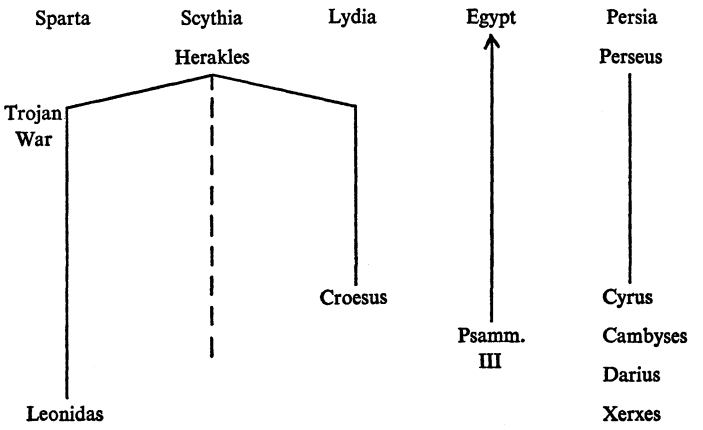
[28] The importance of Herakles in chronography has long been recognized (Prakken, op. cit., passim).

[29] *Ἡρακλέα ἐλαύνοντα τὰς Γηρυόνεω βοῦς ἀπικέσθαι κτλ.* (IV, 8, 1).

some chronological lore which was so widespread that the historian could make use of it without a detailed exposition at the beginning of his work. It is always in his mind, and where apposite, it can come to the surface.

We have, then, several series of data relating past to present which may be diagrammatically represented as follows



Of these the Persian List is the most prominent but the Greek would not be absolutely dependent upon it for a fix. He might easily orientate himself by his knowledge of the death of Croesus or Psammetichus.

Synchronisms

Synchronisms could arise in two ways.[30] By the very fact that a historian is writing a history at all he will have to describe several historical figures as acting upon one another. In the nature of things it will emerge

[30] The distinction is recognized by Strasburger (op. cit., p. 157 ff. ~ p. 730 ff.) with whom I find myself in agreement on most salient points on the question of synchronisms.

in the course of the narrative that Croesus and Cyrus were contemporaries just as it will necessarily emerge that Sadyattes was the contemporary of Cyaxares and the Cimmerian Invasion (I, 16), and Alyattes the contemporary of Thrasybulus (I, 20 ff.) and Periander. Synchronisms may, on the other hand, be given as an aid to the reader in orientating himself and certainly occur in that form in Herodotus. In I, 12 we are told that Gyges was a contemporary of Archilochus. The indication that Croesus was a contemporary of Peisistratus also looks as though it is brought in, partly at any rate, to give a chronological fix, though the taste for a good story is equally important here. The approximate date of the victory of the Spartans over Tegea is given as *κατὰ τὸν κατὰ Κροῖσον χρόνον καὶ τὴν Ἀναξανδρίδεώ τε καὶ Ἀρίστωνος βασιληίην ἐν Λακεδαίμονι*. The information that the campaign of the Spartans against Polycrates was contemporaneous with Cambyses' attack on Egypt is also an intentional synchronism (III, 39, 1) and the same holds true of the synchronism between the Scythian campaign and the Persian intervention in Cyrene (IV, 145, 1).

Clearly, then, we must not regard the presence of synchronisms as being necessarily part of a carefully devised plan. The truth is probably that Herodotus knew perfectly well that synchronisms would, in the nature of historical writing, provide him with the "ribs". He will have resolved to fill out these "organic" synchronisms with additional fixes where he had them but generally they are there because they arise from the narrative itself.

The Archonship of Calliades

This is the weakest link in Strasburger's argument.[31] If Herodotus had intended to use such a key date in his scheme he would not have left it embedded in Book VIII, almost at the end of his work, but would have brought it as near to the beginning as possible and given it emphatically as a fix in much the same way as Thucydides fixes the opening of the Peloponnesian War in the first chapter of Book II. Since, however,

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[31] Den Boer (op. cit.) directs much of his assault on Strasburger's thesis against this very point.

Herodotus had obviously reflected a great deal about chronology, he must have thought that it was quite easy for contemporaries or later generations [32] to orientate themselves. A starting point is necessary, as Strasburger saw, if the network of chronological data described above was to be of any use. What did he expect the reader to do? The solution to this problem can be found by considering what the practice of the genealogists must have been. Surely, Hecataeus, Pherecydes and the rest composed their genealogies in such a way as to give one or several *stemmata* and brought them down as far as they could towards their own time. That they expected their contemporaries to relate themselves to these lists in this way cannot be doubted. Hecataeus obviously did so with relation to lists at his disposal [33] and there is the general consideration that genealogy was of great social importance in so far as ancestry in Greek society, ancient and modern, conferred τιμή. Τιμή was an heritable commodity and the deeds of the great ones of the past constituted an inestimable claim to prestige in society.[34] This is the reason why much of the matter in Pindar's *Odes* is taken up with this subject. Evidently a Greek who used Hecataeus would be expected to know how many years or generations had passed between the last figure in the list and his own time and would then be able to establish his relationship in time to any other figure in the list by dead reckoning. The frequent use of genealogical chronology and the recurrence of phrases like κατὰ ὀκτακόσια (sc. ἔτεα) μάλιστα ἐς ἐμέ make it quite clear that Herodotus functioned in precisely this way and expected his readers to follow suit.

We can now summarise what we consider the chronological system of Herodotus to have been. He assumed or provided a chronological framework of king lists and events which are fixed vertically and horizontally in time. He then left it to the reader to orientate himself. All of his Greek readers, from their general historical knowledge, would be able

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[32] It is clear from the Prooemium that Herodotus intended his work to be as much of a κτῆμα ἐς αἰεί as Thucydides.

[33] II, 143.

[34] Cf. Mitchel, op. cit., p. 50; Walcot, *Greek Peasants*, Manchester, 1970, p. 22 ff.; Campbell, *Honour, Family and Patronage*, Oxford, 1967, p. 263 ff. The same holds true at Rome where *dignitas* and *nobilitas* were heritable commodities of great value (Badian, *Roman Imperialism*, Oxford, 1968, p. 12 ff).

to find some event which they could fix relative to themselves as having taken place so many years or so many generations before their own time (e.g. "in the time of my grandfather") and, given the intricate network of chronological information in the *Histories*, would quickly develop a feel for the major temporal relationships if they did not already possess one. This they would leave in terms of genealogical chronology or they could convert to years on the basis—Herodotus would hope—of the scheme 3 γενεαί = 100 years, though some would doubtless prefer a 25, 30 or 40 year generation. The scheme is, in short, the system of the genealogists adapted to the theme of the Persian Wars.

II. Herodotus' Egyptian Chronology

Basically Herodotus' picture of Egyptian History is in harmony with native Egyptian tradition. The major flaw in the scheme, the position of the Pyramid Builders, can be explained as a misunderstanding by Herodotus or some other Greek of his Egyptian informants (vide infra, p. 188 ff.).

The sources for Egyptian History and, therefore, Chronology differ in the earlier and later parts of the book, a fact of which Herodotus is perfectly aware :

I. Priests and other Egyptians, as far as and including Sethos (II, 142, 1, Ἐς μὲν τοσόνδε ...; ib. 147, 1, ταῦτα μέν νυν αὐτοὶ Αἰγύπτιοι...).
II. Egyptians and others, in particular Greeks, from the Dodecarchy onwards. Ὄψις also plays a part (II, 147, 1, ὅσα δὲ οἵ τε ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ...). The importance of Greeks is especially emphasized by Herodotus who regards their intervention in Egyptian History and the first-hand information derived therefrom as the beginning of accurate Greek knowledge of Egypt's past (II, 154, 4, τούτων δὲ οἰκισθέντων ... ἀτρεκέως).

On the basis of data derived from these sources Herodotus built up a chronological scheme which may, on the basis of subject matter, be divided into 2 sections :

1. The Divine Kings of Egypt.
2. The Human Kings of Egypt from Min to Psammenitus.

Section 2 in turn can be divided into two sub-sections according to the character of the sources :

(a) Human Kings from Min to Sethos.
(b) Human Kings from the Dodecarchy to Psammenitus.

1. *The Divine Kings of Egypt*

Herodotus was well aware of the Egyptian tradition that at the beginning of history the Egyptians had been ruled by gods (vide II, 4, 2—*βασιλεῦσαι δὲ πρῶτον Αἰγύπτου ἄνθρωπον*; 144; details of tradition note II, 144-5). His Dynasty of Gods runs as follows :

	Name	*Authority*	*Chron. Data.*
II, 145, 2	Pan	The Egyptians	Older than Herakles.
II, 145, 2	Herakles	The Egyptians	17.000 years before Amasis (II, 43, 4).
II, 145, 2	Dionysus (He must be Osiris, cf. 144, 2; 145, 4)	The Egyptians	15.000 years before Amasis.
II, 144, 2	Typhon	The Priests of Amūn at Thebes	These were the last divine rulers of Egypt before the series of the 345 High Priests of Amūn began.
II, 144, 2	Ḥorus	The Priests of Amūn at Thebes	

2. *The Human Kings of Egypt from Min to Psammenitus*

(a) From Min to Sethos :

	Name	*Authority*	*Chron. Data*
II, 99, 2.	Min	Priests	1 Generation. First Human King of Egypt (II, 4, 2).
II, 100, 1.	330 Kings = 18 Ethiopians [35] +	Priests using a King List	330 Generations i.e. 330/3 × 100 = 11,000 years.

[35] Libyans and Ethiopians have been added together (Prakken, op. cit., p. 36, n. 86).

	1 Native Queen (Nitocris) + 311 Egyptian Kings		
II, 101, 1.	Moeris was the last		II, 13, 1. He died 900 years before H. came to Egypt i.e. c. 1350 B.C.
II, 102, 1.	Sesostris	Probably the Priests. Though, however, the Priests recount the legend of Sesostris, H. does not actually attribute the chronological position to them.	Came immediately after the 330 and lived a long time before Darius (II, 110, 2).
II, 111, 1.	Pheron	Priests	He was the immediate successor to Sesostris.
II, 112, 1.	Proteus [36]	Priests	Proteus lived at the time of the Trojan War which Herodotus placed between our dates c. 1330-1250 B.C. (vide supra, p. 177 ff.). His reign lasted at least 10 years.
II, 121, 1.	Rhampsinitus	Priests	Direct successor of Proteus.
II, 124, 1.	Cheops	Priests	Direct successor of Rhampsinitus. Ruled for 50 years (II, 127, 1).
II, 127, 1.	Chephren	Egyptians	Direct successor of Cheops. Ruled for 56 years (II, 127, 3).
II, 129, 1.	Mycerinus	Egyptians	Direct successor of Chephren. Ruled for 6 years + (II, 133, 1).[37]
II, 136, 1.	Asychis	Priests	Direct successor of Mycerinus.
II, 137, 1.	Anysis	Priests	Direct successor of Asychis. Contemporary of Sabacos.

[36] Proteus possibly owes something to Ramesses III (Gilbert, "Eidothéè, Théonoé et les Temples de Medinet Habou", *La Nouvelle Clio* 10-12 (1958-62), pp. 179 ff., 286 ff.), but see n. ad loc.

[37] II, 133, 1 tells us that *after* his daughter's death he received an oracle that he would live for six years and die in the seventh. This appears to mean that one must make allowance for the period prior to the arrival of the oracle (cf. Prakken, op. cit., p. 32).

II, 137, 2.	Sabacos	Priests	Reign of 50 years (II, 140, 1). Contemporary of Psammetichus (II, 152, 1).
II, 140, 1.	Anysis	Priests	Returned after the withdrawal of Sabacos. He lived 700 years + before Amyrtaeus i.e. c. 1150 B.C.[38] + (II, 140, 2).
II, 141, 1.	Sethos	Priests	Direct successor of Anysis. Contemporary of Sennacherib (II, 141, 2).

Observations

1. It should be noted that Herodotus' reckoning of 341 generations = 341 kings in Ch. 142 does not quite work out. 341 generations there certainly are but the total number of kings is 342. This mistake arose simply because the equation x generations = x kings makes no allowance for two kings' reigning contemporaneously, whereas this is exactly what happens with Anysis and Sabacos. Therefore, these *two* kings must be counted as *one* generation.

2. Herodotus' chronological scheme does not only consist of a sequence of kings. He is always anxious to establish synchronisms with Greek History to assist him in drawing up a chronological framework for Greece itself. In this list, with Proteus, he manages to obtain his first synchronism between Greek and Egyptian History.

3. There is one glaring fault—the position of the Pyramid Builders. Many ingenious—and often misguided—solutions of the dilemma have been offered [39] but there can be little doubt that Erbse has found the

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[38] This date contradicts chronological data given in II, 137, 1-2; 140, 1; 152, 1. According to this information, Anysis was a contemporary of Sabacos who was in turn a contemporary of Psammetichus. H. knew the date of Psammetichus (vide infra) and *ipso facto* that of Anysis was fixed to a period just prior to 670 B.C.

The solution of the difficulty is clear. The date ap II, 140, 2 is not given in indirect speech. It is, therefore, not part of the information derived from the same priestly source as the rest. The date is clearly part of a folk tale and was ignored by H. for chronological purposes.

[39] Wallinga ("The Structure of Herodotus II 99-142", *Mnemosyne* 4 Series 12 (1959), p. 204 ff.) summarizes these adequately, though his own conclusion is untenable.

answer.[40] He claimed that Herodotus was misled by the Egyptian Priests. He had, in fact, been informed (II, 101, 1) that between Min and Moeris, or the king who he thought was Moeris, no monarch with the exception of Nitocris had achieved anything of consequence. The Pyramid Builders, however, had been responsible for quite outstanding architectural feats, as Herodotus knew full well. Therefore, this statement of the Priests compelled him to place the Pyramid Builders after Moeris. Their place in the chronological scheme after that was determined by the following process. He had definite information from the period of the Dodecarchy onwards. This meant that the Pyramid Builders had to stand before the Dodecarchy. The chronology of Proteus was fixed. He lived at the time of the Trojan War (vide supra, p. 187). Sesostris is an heroic figure and naturally comes in the period of Herakles a little before the Trojan War. What Herodotus tells of Anysis and the Ethiopians relates them closely to the XXVIth Dynasty. The remaining three—Pheros, Rhampsinitus and the Pyramid Builders—were finally allotted their places for artistic reasons.

(b) From the Dodecarchy to Psammenitus :

	Name	*Authority*	*Chron. Data.*
II, 147, 2.	The Twelve King	Egyptians, Foreigners	They followed Sethos.
II, 153, 1.	Psammetichus I	Greeks (cf. II, 154, 4-5)[41]	Ruled for 54 years (II, 157, 1).
II, 158, 1.	Nekos	Greeks	Ruled for 16 years (II, 159, 3).
II, 159, 3.	Psammis	Greeks	Ruled for 6 years (II, 161, 1).
II, 161, 1.	Apries	Greeks	Ruled for 25 years (II, 161, 2).
II, 172, 1.	Amasis	Greeks	Ruled for 44 years (III, 10, 2). He was a contemporary of Polycrates of Samos (II, 182, 2) and Cambyses (III, 1).
III, 10, 1.	Psammenitus	Greeks	Ruled for 6 months (III, 14, 1).

[40] "Vier Bemerkungen zu Herodot. 3", *RhM* N.S. 98 (1955), p. 109 ff.

[41] H. states in II, 154, 4-5 that his information is now becoming accurate because the Greeks were becoming involved in Egyptian History.

III, 13, 3.	Cambyses	Greeks	Ruled for 7 years and 5 months (III, 66, 2). He marched against Egypt at the same time as the Lacedaemonians marched against Polycrates of Samos (III, 39, 1). This event took place near Herodotus' time since the grandson of one of the Spartans who died at Samos was still alive and was met by him (III, 55, 2).

Observations

1. Strasburger attempted [42] to reduce Herodotus' chronological scheme for the Saites to absolute dates purely on the basis of internal evidence by starting with the Archonship of Calliades, working up the Persian King List and then establishing a synchronism between Cambyses and Psammenitus which enabled him to date all the Saites by dead reckoning. The scheme may be tabulated as follows :

Psammetichus (54 years; II, 157)	670-617 B.C.		
Nekos (16 years; II, 159, 3)	616-601 B.C.		
Psammis (6 years; II, 161, 1)	600-595 B.C.		
Apries (25 years; II, 161, 2)	594-570 B.C.		
Amasis (44 years; III, 10, 2)	569-526 B.C.	529 B.C.	Cambyses ascends the throne and rules for 7 years, 5 months.
Psammenitus (6 months; III, 14, 1)	526-525 B.C.		
		522 B.C.	Cambyses for 4 months. Smerdis for 7 (III, 67, 2).

[42] Op. cit., p. 701 ff.

521 B.C.	Darius ascends the throne. Rules for 36 years (VII, 4).
485 B.C.	Xerxes ascends the throne. Sets out for Greece in regnal year 6 and reaches Attica in the Archonship of Calliades (i.e. 480 B.C.)

Cogently argued and attractive as this construction is, it will not do. The information of Herodotus cannot be converted into absolute terms on *purely internal evidence* because there is not an unbroken sequence of chronological data running from the Archonship of Calliades to the Invasion of Egypt by Cambyses. We are not, in fact, told the year in which the invasion took place. Strasburger's attempt to arrive at the date 525 on internal evidence is, in fact, only successful because he already knows from other sources that the invasion fell in that year.[43] It should, however, be noted that we can easily convert Herodotus' Saite chronology into absolute terms by accepting 525 from Near Eastern sources. The results will, of course, be identical with those of Strasburger.

2. Such a table compares well enough with that drawn up by Parker [44] and confirmed by Hornung.[45] His scheme begins by establishing reign lengths on the basis of two categories of evidence :

(a) Mortuary stelae and the stelae of the Apis Bulls from the Serapeum.
(b) Chronological material in Manetho and in Demotic documents.

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[43] S. argued that two statements in H. imply a date *about* 525 :
(a) Cambyses made extensive preparations (II, 1; III, 1). These could hardly have been completed before 527 B.C.
(b) The madness of Cambyses as recounted by H. requires a space of several years before his death in 522.
"so dass die salomonische Lösung, den Ägyptenfeldzug in die Mitte seiner Zeit zu setzen, sich nach Herodots Darstellung wirklich empfiehlt, womit man so genau auf das durch ägyptische Dokumente beglaubigte Datum 525 gerät, dass es Ziererei wäre, diesem auszuweichen" (op. cit., p. 691).

[44] "The Length of Reign of Amasis and the Beginning of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty", *MDAI(K)* 15 (1957), p. 208 ff. This study modifies slightly the results of Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens vom 7 bis zum 4 Jahrhundert vor der Zeitwende*, Berlin, 1953, p. 154 ff.

[45] "Die Sonnenfinsternis nach dem Tode Psammetichs I", *ZÄS* 92 (1965), p. 38 ff.

(a) The first category was employed for the first 4 kings and gives the following result :

Psammetichus I	54 years
Necho II	15 years
Psammetichus II	6 years
Apries	19 years

(b) The second category of evidence was employed for the last two kings because no mortuary stelae were available. This evidence confirms Herodotus, yielding the following results

Amasis	44 years, dying in the 45th.	Manetho gives 44 years (*FgrH* 609 p. 50, 1. 7). Year 44 is mentioned in the Petition of Petiese.[46] Year 44 is found on a text in the Wadi Hammamat.[47] Year 44 occurs on the back of the Demotic Chronicle.[48] P. Louvre 7848 gives a date which, taken with the above information, must be regnal year 45.[49]
Psammetichus III		Manetho gives 6 months (op. cit., p. 50).

Using this information and reckoning back from May/June 525, the known date of the defeat and deposition of Psammetichus III at Pelusium (n. II, 1), Parker constructs the following scheme :

Psammetichus I	664-610
Necho II	610-595
Psammetichus II	595-589
Apries	589-570
Amasis	570-526
Psammetichus III	526-525

Reign lengths according to Herodotus and Egyptian sources are identical in the case of Psammetichus, Psammis (Psammetichus II), Amasis and

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[46] Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, Manchester, 1909, III, IX, 21, 7, pp. 63, 105, 247; Gauthier, *Livre des Rois*, Cairo, 1907-17, IV, p. 120, n. 2.

[47] Couyat & Montet, *Les Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques et Hiériatiques du Ouâdi Hammâmât* (*MIFAO* 34), Cairo, 1912, p. 88.

[48] Spiegelberg, *Die sogennante demotische Chronik, Demotische Studien* 7, Leipzig, 1914, p. 30.

[49] Parker, op. cit., p. 210 ff.

Psammenitus (Psammetichus III). There is a difference of one year in that of Necho. The only major disagreement occurs in the case of Apries where Herodotus' reign length is 6 years more than that derived from native material.

Conclusions

The two essential points to grasp about Herodotus *chronographus* are, first, that a well articulated chronological framework certainly lies beneath the *Histories* and, second, that his rôle in making it is almost certainly secondary. That he was interested in chronological questions admits of no doubt. The scale of the *Histories*, the dominant rôle of genealogical studies in the work of his predecessors and contemporaries and his own patent concern with methodology are all ample guarantees of that. To control the multifareous strands of his work he must have had firmly planted in his mind a framework which was clear and coherent, if not always, in the minutest detail, consistent and he must have been satisfied that his audience would be able to orientate itself without undue difficulty. In achieving these aims he did not, however, have to start from nothing. Many Greeks must have possessed a hard core of historical knowledge derived from the traditions of the communities within which they lived and, for more recent history, they could have drawn on their own personal experience. Such conditions would, of themselves, create a general feel for the major chronological relationships. In addition, the genealogists, both in prose and verse, had for some time been integrating and recording existing traditions, both Greek and barbarian. All this lore, written and oral, Herodotus was able to assume and quite obviously to a large extent did assume, just as a modern historian might take for granted in his readers a working knowledge of European chronology. As always, however, Herodotean ἱστορίη was at work and he frequently found himself in a position to supplement existing information and also to reconcile existing anomalies. Owing to the inadequacy of our contemporary sources it is often difficult to tell what is new and what is not but, in the case of Book II, there is good reason to suspect the handywork of Herodotus in much of the chronology of Egypt and in the attempts to reconcile the contradictions which arose between that and traditional Greek chronology. In working on such

problems he appears to have devised his own scheme for converting genealogies into years viz. the equation 3 generations = 100 years, though there is no justification in arguing that he took a generation to be $33^1/_3$ years. From all this material Herodotus was able to construct a grid on which to base his historical narrative before even beginning the serious composition of his work. This system consisted of a series of King Lists which all, with the exception of the Persian, had Herakles as their ancestor, functioning as a kind of genealogical ἀρχή and together they constituted the vertical members of the scheme, running back in time from the Fifth Century to the Heroic Age. These lists were knitted together laterally by synchronisms, some deliberately introduced, many others, however, naturally generated by the historical interaction of the members of respective King Lists. Where problems arose, his readers were given some help (e.g. II, 145-6). Where it would be natural to give chronological information (e.g. the reign length of a king after his death), such information occurs almost as an organic development of the narrative.

As for Egyptian chronology, Herodotus and his fellow researchers accumulated a large stock of information on the subject and found to their considerable embarrassment that its beginnings lay millennia before what they considered to the beginning of their own history in the Sixteenth Century B.C. It is the traumatic effect of this discovery which caused Herodotus to devote so much time to chronological problems in Book II. The details of his Egyptian Chronology are surprisingly accurate. Most of the main periods are mentioned and the Saite chronology is only seriously out in the case of Apries, Herodotus giving him a reign of 25 years instead of 19. The notorious crux of the whole system is the displacement of the Pyramid Builders but there is a strong likelihood that Erbse is correct when he explains it as being the result of the statement of the priests recorded in II, 101, 1.